

The Quarterly Journal

OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS





Volume 32 / Number 2 / April 1975

The Quarterly Journal

OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

In this issue

83 The First Librarian of Congress,
John Beckley

by EDMUND BERKELEY and
DOROTHY SMITH BERKELEY

118 For Congress & the Nation
The Dual Nature of the Library of Congress
by JOHN Y. COLE

139 The Child and the Shadow
by URSULA K. LE GUIN

Sarah L. Wallace, *Editor* / Frederick B. Mohr, *Assistant Editor*

Published as a supplement to the Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 44-40782

ISSN 0041-7939 Key title: Quarterly journal of the Library of Congress

COVER: Handkerchief map of Washington, printed in red, based on Andrew Ellicott's rendering of L'Enfant's plan and engraved by Samuel Hill, of Boston, in 1792. Geography and Map Division.

The establishment of the new seat of government in Washington in 1800 drew John Beckley to the city, where in December 1801 he was reelected Clerk of the House and the following month was appointed first Librarian of the "Library for the use of both Houses of Congress." A sometime antagonist of Beckley's, and probably the most familiar face in the new Library, was William Plumer, who explored both the congressional library and the city with enthusiasm. To him Washington was "a little village in the midst of the woods. . . . It contains many fine sites for buildings, but comparatively few houses, and those not compact." See page 83.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 - Price \$1.65 (single copy). Subscription Price: \$6.45 per year; \$1.65 additional for foreign mailing.

LIBRARIANS OF CONGRESS

JOHN BECKLEY 1802-1807

PATRICK MACRUDER 1807-1815

GEORGE WATTERSTON 1815-1829

JOHN SILVA MEEHAN 1829-1861

JOHN C. STEPHENSON 1861-1864

AINSWORTH RAND SPOFFORD 1864-1897

JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG 1897-1899

HERBERT PUTNAM 1899-1939

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH 1939-1944

LUTHER HARRIS EVANS 1945-1953

LAWRENCE QUINCY MUMFORD 1954-1974

Editor's Note

THIS month marks the 175th birthday of the Library of Congress. At its first session, the Sixth Congress of the United States passed "An Act to make further provision for the removal and accommodation of the Government of the United States . . . Approved, April 24, 1800." In effect, the fifth section of this act created the Library of Congress by providing for the acquisition of books for congressional use, a suitable place in the Capitol in which to house them, a joint committee to make rules for their selection, acquisition, and circulation, and an appropriation of \$5,000 for this purpose. During the ensuing 175 years, the Library has known 11 Librarians: John James Beckley, Patrick Magruder, George Watterston, John Sylva Meehan, John G. Stephenson, Ainsworth Rand Spofford, John Russell Young, Herbert Putnam, Archibald MacLeish, Luther Harris Evans, and Lawrence Quincy Mumford.

In 1896, the Joint Committee on the Library held hearings on "the condition of the Library

of Congress" in preparation for the forthcoming move into the new building. Among those who appeared before the committee was Herbert Putnam, librarian of the Boston Public Library at the time.

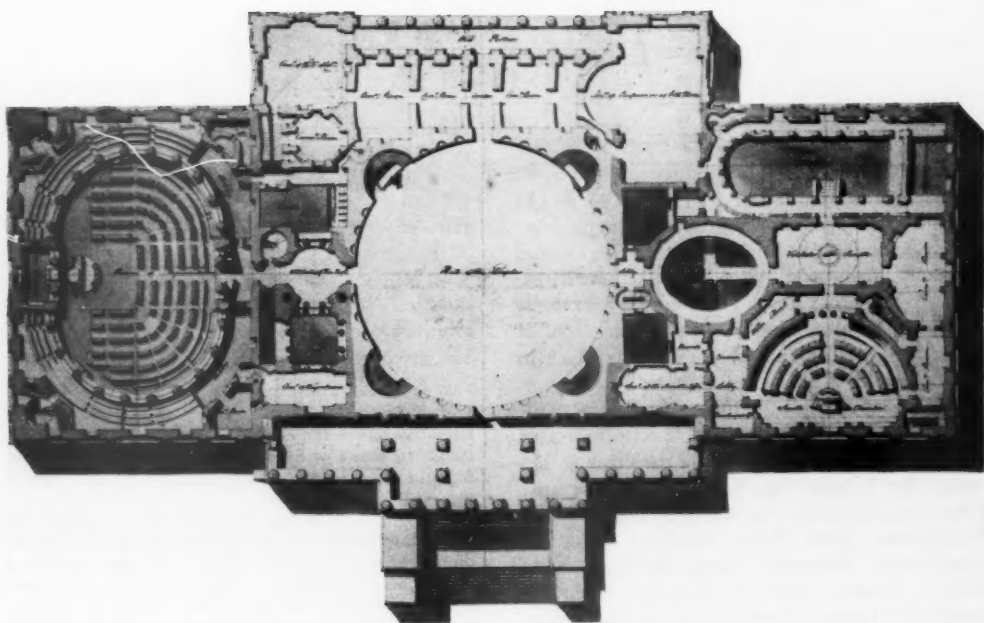
In reply to Representative Lemuel Ely Quigg's question, "What are the qualities that the chief administrative officer of this new Congressional Library ought to possess?" Mr. Putnam replied:

This should be a library, the foremost library in the United States—a national library—that is to say, the largest library in the United States and a library which stands foremost as a model and example of assisting forward the work of scholarship in the United States. . . .

I should suppose that the man who is to have the final administration of that library must have above all things else administrative ability—the same kind of a man who is to manage the property or interest of any large corporation, is to handle large funds, is to manage a large force of employees; such a one should have administrative capacity. It is as much required in a library as anywhere else. When you have a department

Continued on page 149

In 1805 the House moved back into its old quarters temporarily while the permanent structure that would form the south wing of the Capitol was being built. The Library, in turn, had to move to an adjacent committee room, which proved to be woefully inadequate. Benjamin Latrobe's "Plan of the Principal Story of the Capitol, 1806" shows more spacious quarters for the Library on the west side of the north wing, which, according to the surveyor of public buildings, was in such a state of decay as to be dangerous. Prints and Photographs Division.





The First Librarian of Congress

John Beckley

by Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley

THE *National Intelligencer* of Washington for February 5, 1802, announced: "The President of the United States has appointed *John Beckley Librarian* of the two Houses of Congress." The name was a very familiar one at the time, requiring no identification. Since this is not the case today, some account of his career before 1802 may help to explain Jefferson's choice for the first Librarian. Beckley's librarianship came late in his life, and he is better known by historians as a political figure. His appointment as Librarian was, however, by no means a political appointment. He was undoubtedly the best qualified applicant for the position. Jefferson had a very real interest in and concern for the Library, and he was thoroughly familiar with Beckley's qualifications.

John James Beckley was born in England, August 4, 1757. Little is known of his family or of his early education. Accounts indicating he had attended Eton are not authenticated and are almost certainly erroneous. It is well established that he was sent to Virginia by the mercantile firm of John Norton & Son in response to a request for a scribe. The request had come from the elderly John Clayton, clerk of court for Gloucester County and a botanist well known in Eu-

ropean scientific circles. Beckley arrived in Virginia just before his 12th birthday and lived in Clayton's home as a member of his family for the next four years. Clayton was the grandson of one of the founding members of the Royal Society of London. His father had been attorney general of Virginia when the son became clerk of court in 1720. He had inherited his father's library and had added to it extensively. He was extremely well qualified to guide the continuing education of young Beckley and did so with enthusiasm.

John Clayton died in late December of 1773. Beckley, who had witnessed his will, proved it on January 6, 1774. Faced with a decision concerning his future, Beckley elected to remain in Virginia rather than return to London. In his close association with Clayton he had become acquainted with many of the more influential members of the colony, and intelligent, well-trained clerks were in short supply. He had no doubt that he could support himself. Soon after Clayton's death he was employed by Thomas Adams, clerk of Henrico County. In February 1775 he

Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley are the authors of *John Beckley: Zealous Partisan in a Nation Divided* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1973).

became clerk to the Henrico committee of safety. During this pre-Revolutionary period a remarkable number of committees were appointed in Virginia, and Beckley served as clerk to a surprising number of them. An ordinance establishing a committee of safety for the entire colony at Williamsburg was adopted August 24, 1775. Soon thereafter Beckley was assisting the clerk of that committee. On February 7, 1776, he was officially appointed assistant clerk, working with John Tazewell for Edmund Pendleton, president of the committee.

The functions of the committee of safety came to an end with the establishment of state government and the election of Patrick Henry as governor. Beckley was employed to complete the records and journals and to prepare a detailed ledger of the committee's accounts. The establishment of state government meant more committees, and Beckley was soon appointed clerk to the committee of trade and the committee of courts of justice and assistant clerk to the council of state. By November 1777 he had replaced John Pendleton as clerk of the Virginia senate. He was also finding time to study law, which he may well have begun in Clayton's library. It is very probable that he studied at Williamsburg with Edmund Randolph, attorney general of the new state, with whom he was closely associated throughout his life thereafter. Randolph was elected to the Continental Congress and resigned his post as clerk of the Virginia House of Delegates in June 1779. Beckley not only replaced him in this capacity, but also took over his law practice during his absence.

The Phi Beta Kappa Society had its beginning at the College of William and Mary on December 5, 1776, soon after Beckley came to Williamsburg. Since he was not a student at the college, Beckley was not eligible for membership. But on December 10, 1778, the constitution of the society was broadened to permit the election of non-students, and a few months later, on April 10, 1779, Beckley was elected. Within a month, as might have been predicted, he was chosen clerk, or secretary. He became a very active member in spite of his many other commitments. The group, at the time, was a remarkable one, including William Short, later minister to Spain, John Page, later governor of Virginia, and John Brown, later U.S. Senator from Kentucky. Brown and Page

remained close friends throughout Beckley's life. Beckley, Brown, and Short formed a committee of three to design a seal for the society. Beckley was also one of a committee of three who prepared resolutions to govern the expansion of the society to other areas, thus giving it its present national character. In his capacity as secretary, he drew up the charters for new chapters at both Harvard and Yale Universities. A few months after his election to Phi Beta Kappa, Beckley was elected to the Williamsburg Lodge of Freemasons. Among the members of the lodge were Edmund Randolph, James Madison, James Monroe, and Henry Tazewell. At about the same time, Beckley became clerk to the high court of chancery and also to the court of appeals.

The year 1779 was an eventful one for Beckley in several other respects. Thomas Jefferson was elected governor in June to succeed Patrick Henry. Beckley may have known him earlier, but certainly knew him well thereafter. In December the general assembly decided to move its meeting place from Williamsburg to Richmond for its next meeting in the spring of 1780. Also in that year his sister, Mary Anne, came to Virginia with Mr. and Mrs. John Baylor, who had recently married in London. Mary Anne later made her home with John in Richmond until she married one of his clerks, Nathaniel Gregory.

The move to Richmond began a new period in Beckley's life in many ways. He rented a house and acquired several slaves. He began to practice law on his own, and he involved himself in city affairs. He had not long been settled at Richmond when the arrival of Gen. Benedict Arnold with a fleet in Chesapeake Bay made it necessary for the general assembly to remove itself and its records briefly from the city. Soon after their return a threat developed from General Cornwallis, and the assembly removed first to Charlottesville and then to Staunton. During these dangerous times Beckley was impressed by the coolness and leadership shown by Governor Jefferson. He later gave strong testimony to this when political opponents accused Jefferson of cowardice.

Richmond was incorporated as a city in May 1782. In June of that year Beckley purchased a lot and thus became eligible to participate in the first city elections in July. Eight hundred freeholders of the city elected 12 councilmen for a term of three years, one of whom was the 25-

year-old Beckley. The councilmen then elected Dr. William Foushee as their mayor and Beckley as one of four aldermen. Another of the aldermen was Jacquelin Ambler, father-in-law of John Marshall. (Marshall later served with Beckley as a councilman. He was also a Mason and a member of Phi Beta Kappa, but in spite of all of these associations Beckley and Marshall were never on very cordial terms.) Beckley was soon very much involved in a multitude of problems of a new city government. He performed so effectively that he was elected as the second mayor of the city when he was but 26. He was continuously active in the city government during the nine years he lived in Richmond and three times served as mayor.

While the general assembly was in Staunton, Beckley was able to visit Warm Springs and adjacent areas of western Virginia after the assembly adjourned. He was tremendously impressed by the potential of this little-settled country and began to acquire land grants in the region. He became associated in land speculation with George Clendinen, a member of the assembly. Clendinen had established himself on the present site of Charleston, W. Va., and named the city for his father. Beckley's interest in land and in western Virginia and Kentucky increased, and he was continuously involved with both for the rest of his life though he never lived in that area.

Although Beckley's early life was spent in Virginia, he had his eye on the national scene on which so many of his Virginia friends were playing an active part. His first attempt to become personally involved seems to have been in April 1787, when he accompanied Gov. Edmund Randolph and James Madison to Philadelphia for the revision of the Articles of Confederation. If he hoped to become clerk of that convention, he was disappointed. He did make some useful acquaintances, and the experience whetted his appetite for national service. A year later he was very active in the state convention for ratification of the federal Constitution. When the elected delegates convened at Richmond in June, they chose Edmund Pendleton president and Beckley secretary. There followed the famous debates between those favoring ratification, led by James Madison, Edmund Randolph, and John Marshall, and the opponents led by George Mason, Patrick Henry, and William Grayson. It was

Beckley who prepared the 15 copies of the ratification that were to be delivered to Congress and the various states.

Beckley's urge to participate in the federal government increased and by 1789 had become irresistible. He decided to make a determined effort to be elected first Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives. With this in mind he obtained letters of recommendation from friends. Edmund Randolph wrote to Caleb Strong, of Massachusetts, and perhaps to others, in glowing terms of Beckley's ability as a clerk. James Madison also promised support. As an official cover for his trip to New York, and perhaps to help with expenses, he agreed to deliver the official report of Virginia's vote for the presidency. He went nearly a month before the vote for the clerkship would be held, hoping to campaign a bit for the office. He was joined in New York by various old friends, including Madison, John Brown, John Page, and Alexander White. It was well that he had support, for he had strong competition. The first vote for the clerkship resulted in a tie, but Beckley won on the second ballot.

Beckley had led an eventful life since coming to Virginia, but now an even more exciting period began. He was at first involved in all of the pomp and ceremony of Washington's inauguration and the absurd arguments over matters of titles and protocol. Following Washington's address to the Congress and his withdrawal from the Senate chamber, it was Beckley who read the manuscript of the address to the members with that clarity of enunciation for which he was to become famous. And then there was the activity of the Congress as soon as the initial formalities had been completed. Matters of critical importance had to be decided, and feelings were very strong about many of them. The most controversial of these were the financial questions involved in funding the new national government and settling the debts incurred during the Revolution, especially veterans' warrants. Unfortunately, the divergent views concerning the best solutions to these problems tended to be somewhat regional in character. What is more, the potential for quick profits attracted speculators in large numbers, and many members of the Congress were involved in speculation. Not surprisingly, feelings became very heated, and the

Congress soon became distinctly polarized on these issues. The story is much too long to be dealt with here, and it has been analyzed thoroughly by many writers. It did, however, directly involve Beckley and profoundly influenced the remainder of his life, so it must be discussed in general terms at least.

Alexander Hamilton, as secretary of the treasury, had the direct responsibility for proposing financial measures. Opposition to his proposals was led initially by James Madison. Beckley, having had considerable experience with accounts and financial matters, having served in the Virginia militia as well as the state government, and being closely acquainted with Madison, felt concerned. As Clerk of the House, perhaps he should have maintained a rigid neutrality regarding measures before the Congress, but he never did. His personal involvement was such that Senator Maclay, of Pennsylvania, noting in his diary that he wished to be associated with the southern group in Congress, indicated that the southern leaders were Madison and Beckley. Jefferson was not present during the early skirmishing. He had been in France and expected to return there when he came home in the fall of 1789, but Washington persuaded him to accept the post of secretary of state. Another Beckley friend was a member of the cabinet. Edmund Randolph had become attorney general.

Soon after Jefferson's arrival in New York he permitted Hamilton to persuade him to influence the Virginia group to soften its opposition to his proposed measures and break a deadlock on the funding and assumption bills. A compromise was reached—some said a "deal" was made—whereby Alexander White and Richard Bland Lee, of Virginia, would support Hamilton's measures in return for a promise to locate the permanent seat of government on the Potomac. This was one of the few times that Hamilton and Jefferson were able to reach agreement, and Jefferson had reason to regret it.

For many reasons, social and otherwise, Hamilton was rather closely associated with many of the individuals who were openly speculating in the government debts and who stood to make large sums if they were able to anticipate what measures Hamilton would propose and what would be passed by Congress. There can be no

doubt that some of these men were able to obtain information before it reached the general public. Their source, in many instances, was apparently William Duer, appointed assistant secretary by Hamilton. Related to Mrs. Hamilton, Duer had been a member of the old Board of Treasury. He was closely associated with many of the leading financial entrepreneurs, including Robert Morris, William Constable, Andrew Craigie, and Theodosius Fowler. The grave suspicions that many of Hamilton's political opponents had with regard to his office were greatly strengthened later by Duer's disgrace and imprisonment for debt. A distrust of the Treasury Department became widely held, and many, including Beckley, distrusted Hamilton personally. From such early beginnings there gradually evolved the Federalist and Republican Parties, and animosity between them became extremely bitter.

Beckley's intense absorption in political affairs was interrupted for a time when he fell in love. The young lady was Maria Prince, daughter of a retired New York ship captain formerly engaged in trade with Cayenne. After a brief courtship John and Maria were married just before Congress moved from New York to Philadelphia. They lived in Philadelphia from 1791 until 1801. Although Beckley had become acquainted with a number of New York political figures, he was not there long enough to take part in either city or state politics. At Philadelphia he played an active role in both and in national politics as well.

Soon after the move, Beckley quite unintentionally made a major contribution to the party split which was evolving. He had obtained from England the first part of Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* and thought that it would, if republished, prove a good antidote to John Adams' *Discourses on Davilla*. The latter series of essays seemed to advocate monarchy, nobility, and aristocracy and had produced a storm of protest. Beckley persuaded Jonathan Bayard Smith to republish the *Rights* but first lent it to Madison, who in turn lent it to Jefferson. At Beckley's request Jefferson sent it directly to Smith with an accompanying note expressing his pleasure that it would be reprinted. Smith included Jefferson's comments on the flyleaf of the reprint, and it sold rapidly, as Smith had correctly surmised it might. John

Adams and other Federalists were outraged by Jefferson's comments and a great commotion ensued. Jefferson had not intended to make a public attack on his friend John Adams, but all attempts to explain the incident proved futile.

Beckley was particularly delighted by an honor which came to him in this year (1791). He was elected to membership in the American Philosophical Society. He had long known of the society, since John Clayton had been one of the early members. Political prominence was no assurance of election. Although Jefferson, Randolph, and Hamilton were already members, John Adams was not elected until two years later. Meetings were held twice each month, at which papers were given. Since the society's building was close to the state house, Beckley was probably able to enjoy their fine library at other times. He presented to the society for its collections two specimens of printing. Calligraphy was one of his hobbies.

A new friendship developed for Beckley in 1791 when he joined Madison and Henry Lee in persuading Philip Freneau to come to Philadelphia and start publishing the *National Gazette*. The dominant Philadelphia paper at the time was John Fenno's *Gazette of the United States*, and Fenno's views were antagonistic to everything Beckley and his friends espoused. Freneau's paper gave them a much needed public voice for their views, and they supported it not only with their writing but also by obtaining subscriptions in Philadelphia and elsewhere. Beckley maintained a very close association with Freneau.

Soon after coming to Philadelphia Beckley became the close personal friend of Gen. William Irvine, of Carlisle. How the friendship began is not known but the two families became very intimate and exchanged long visits over a period of years, and the two men carried on an extensive correspondence when Irvine was not in Philadelphia. This was an important friendship for Beckley politically, since Irvine was a very active figure in Pennsylvania politics. He soon had Beckley equally involved. Another close personal friendship developed with Dr. Benjamin Rush. Their political views were congenial, and Rush was moderately active in political matters.

More old friends from Virginia arrived in Philadelphia, most importantly Senators James Monroe and Henry Tazewell. The Williamsburg

Lodge of Freemasons was now represented at Philadelphia by at least five of its members: Beckley, Madison, Monroe, Randolph, and Tazewell. Monroe and Beckley had long been friends and became even closer. Tazewell made his home with the Beckleys while Congress was in session and died there in 1799. With so many close friends in the Congress and the Cabinet, Beckley would have found it extremely difficult to adopt a nonpartisan position had he been inclined to do so. He had no such inclination. He was ardently Republican in his views and became very active in promoting Republican causes at all levels. Since he maintained a home in Philadelphia while members of Congress were in the city only when Congress was in session, it was natural for him to keep in touch with many of them by correspondence in their absence. He thus became a sort of clearinghouse for information of concern to Republicans from all parts of the country and assumed the unofficial role of party chairman.

Beckley was also a voluminous writer. He became a frequent contributor to Freneau's *Gazette* under a variety of pseudonyms, including "Mercator," "The Calm Observer," and "Timon." As "Mercator" he challenged the Treasury Department's claim that it had reduced the public debt by almost two million dollars. He used his ability with figures and accounts to demonstrate that the debt had actually increased by almost the same amount. His attacks drew replies from Hamilton, writing as "Civis." Monroe and Beckley jointly published a pamphlet (long incorrectly attributed to John Taylor of Caroline) entitled *An Examination of the Late Proceedings in Congress Respecting the Official Conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury*. When Monroe replaced Gouverneur Morris as minister to France, Beckley wrote to him at length concerning political affairs at home. Monroe reciprocated with long letters to Beckley, copies of which went also to Jefferson, Burr, George Logan, and Robert R. Livingston. He suggested that Beckley and Logan publish these letters anonymously as an antidote to European news screened by the British before reaching the United States. These were published and had political repercussions.

Before Monroe's departure for France he became involved in an investigation of alleged speculation by Alexander Hamilton. The appar-

ent evidence had been brought to the attention of Congressman F. A. C. Muhlenberg, who asked the assistance of Monroe and Congressman Abraham Venable. The three men conducted a quiet investigation and, finding the charges serious, sought an explanation from Hamilton. The evidence was all admitted to be true by Hamilton, but he explained the whole series of remarkable events by admitting he was being blackmailed by one James Reynolds with whose wife he had had an affair. The three investigators were reasonably convinced and, having had one of Beckley's more confidential clerks prepare copies of all papers involved, as requested by Hamilton, they asked Beckley to keep the findings secret. The details of the probe into the "Reynolds Affair" are confusing and lengthy and cannot be dealt with here. But more will be said about Beckley's connection with it later.

Beckley's antipathy for Federalists and Federalist causes was greatly intensified by their treatment of Edmund Randolph. Randolph, who had served briefly as an aide-de-camp to Washington during the Revolution and had played a very active part in the early planning of the new government, came to Washington's cabinet at considerable financial sacrifice. Intensely loyal to Washington, he was almost the only prominent Virginian in the government who maintained a genuine neutrality between Republican and Federalist commitment and thereby endeared himself to neither group. Republicans regarded him as something of a "trimmer," although none questions his integrity. The Federalists found him difficult to manipulate and did not like his influence on Washington. When he advised Washington against signing the Jay Treaty without further concessions by the British, the Federalists and their British friends determined to destroy his influence with Washington. They found a means of doing so when the British conveniently furnished Timothy Pickering with papers seeming to indicate that Randolph had accepted money from the French, or had expressed a willingness to do so. Pickering and Oliver Wolcott managed to convince the President of Randolph's guilt. Incredible as it may seem, Washington signed the treaty without even discussing with Randolph the charges against him and then demanded an explanation from Randolph in a full cabinet meeting. Guilty of nothing

other than devotion to Washington and to the best interests of his country, Randolph promptly resigned and set about trying to vindicate himself. It was very difficult to do, and historians have been all too slow to recognize that he was totally innocent of any wrongdoing.

In spite of divergent political views at times, Beckley and Randolph were devoted friends. He was infuriated when he learned of Randolph's treatment. He had known Washington a long time and had always referred to him in respectful terms. He was now completely disillusioned and convinced that Washington had become the head of a pro-British faction in this country. He had been strongly opposed to the Jay Treaty and had campaigned vigorously against its passage. Beckley retaliated by attacking Oliver Wolcott under the pseudonym of "The Calm Observer." He accused Wolcott of overpaying Washington's salary and drew Wolcott and Hamilton into a prolonged rebuttal of his charges. In spite of Wolcott's indignant denials, Beckley was able to demonstrate conclusively that Washington had repeatedly overdrawn his allowance by Congress. Many were shocked by such an attack on Washington but it had the effect of embarrassing the Federalists in a number of ways.

Beckley's disposition was not improved when he learned that the Federalists in the cabinet had persuaded Washington to recall Monroe from Paris in August 1796. It was evident that Republicans were to be ousted from any position of prominence which the Federalists could attack. He was inspired to assume a leadership role in the forthcoming national elections. Washington's Farewell Address was published in mid-September, and the campaigning to choose his successor began at once. This would be the first contested presidential election. The eventual candidates were John Adams and Thomas Pinckney for the Federalists and Jefferson and Aaron Burr for the Republicans. It was apparent that most of the votes of the northern states would go to Adams and that most southern votes would go to Jefferson. This made clear the importance of the middle states, especially New York and Pennsylvania. Beckley was convinced that the Pennsylvania vote could be won by the Republicans, and he dedicated himself to that end. He was a member of a five-man committee directing political strategy for the state, and he acquired a

reputation as a vigorous campaign manager. So effective were his methods of organization at the grassroots level that the final vote was Jefferson 14, Burr 13, Pinckney 2, and Adams only 1. The national vote went to Adams by the narrow margin of 71 to Jefferson's 68. Pinckney received 59 and Burr 30. The delivery of the Pennsylvania vote assured Jefferson of the vice-presidency, and Beckley had played an important role in its delivery.

The Federalists were well aware of how narrowly they had averted the disaster of a Republican administration. The behind-the-scenes maneuvering which had destroyed the political influence of Randolph and Monroe had been successful and could now be directed to strengthening their control of government and the weakening of the Republican position wherever possible. Thus began the era of the Alien and Sedition Acts and all that went with them. Republicans were embarrassed and harassed in many ways, and British influence was strong. Even Vice President Jefferson was subjected to social ostracism. It is not surprising that Beckley was high on the list of politically active Republicans the Federalists would like to depose. Since he held elective office, he was clearly vulnerable. He was, obviously, aware of this, but since he had been consistently reelected by large margins, he had felt comparatively secure. He should have known better. Many of his most active supporters in Congress were prone to arrive at the last minute for the beginning of a session. This now provided a method for attacking Beckley. A Federalist caucus was called, and it was agreed to demand an early vote for the clerkship and to vote for a young law student named Jonathan Williams Condy. In spite of many protests in the House they were successful in demanding an immediate vote and Condy won by 41-40.

Republican outrage and Federalist glee were widely expressed in public and in private. Beckley's abilities as a clerk were generally recognized, and the purely political basis for his removal was beyond question. Beckley could derive small comfort from the indignation of his friends. His financial situation, which had been precarious, was suddenly critical. Many people were wholly or partially dependent upon him. His wife, her mother, and her younger brother were members of his household. His parents and an afflicted

brother in England, his sister and her children in Virginia, another brother-in-law and his family all looked to him for help. He had invested all of his savings in land at various locations, primarily in western Virginia and Kentucky. His holdings were both extensive and potentially very valuable, but his efforts to sell any of the land had been frustrating. He had not developed a law practice in Philadelphia and to do so would be difficult. He had also been foolish enough to endorse notes for friends and relatives. The threat of debtors' prison was both real and frightening.

There followed for Beckley the most difficult period of his life. Desperate attempts to solve financial problems were just successful enough to avoid debtors' prison. He was humiliated at having to borrow money from friends, including Jefferson and Rush, not knowing when he could return it. His health had always been delicate, and his constant worry did nothing to improve it. None of this was alleviated by the arrogant jeers of the Federalist press and their almost complete dominance of the political scene. There seemed, for a time, no way in which he could strike back at his tormentors, but one means finally suggested itself. At the time of the Reynolds affair, Monroe had asked him to keep the records of the matter, but to keep them secret. He had made no commitment to do so but had honored the request. Now Beckley believed it was Hamilton who was directing the actions of Wolcott, Pickering, and others to bring about not only his, Randolph's, and Monroe's political destruction, but that of the whole Republican cause as well. Although Hamilton was no longer in the cabinet he was still the symbol of Federalism, and Beckley felt he was fully justified in letting the country know what manner of man was behind Federalist activity. Monroe was returning from France at the time and could not be consulted. Beckley alone made the decision to publish the full account of the Reynolds affair.

Beckley persuaded James Thomson Callender to edit the papers relating to the Reynolds affair as a supplement to his *History of the United States for 1796*, published by Snowden & McCorkle. It reached the public just as Monroe arrived from France in late June 1797 and had even more impact than Beckley could have anticipated. Hamilton refused to believe that Monroe was not involved in the release of the

papers, an error of which many historians have been guilty ever since, and a duel was narrowly averted by the diplomacy of Aaron Burr. Monroe's conduct throughout the entire Reynolds affair was meticulously honorable, many historians to the contrary notwithstanding. Hamilton, to the consternation of his friends, published a defense. He left the public, as he had left Monroe, Muhlenberg, and Venable, with a choice of either accepting his account that he had repeatedly paid blackmail to a man because of threatened exposure of having carried on an affair with his wife or of suspecting that he had concocted the tale as a cover for having actually been guilty of speculations. Mrs. Reynolds steadfastly denied the story, contending that it had been fabricated by Hamilton and her husband. She promptly had Burr obtain a divorce for her.

Hamilton's friends condemned the publication of the Reynolds affair as mean and base, with little concern for the justification in doing so. They were, however, completely aghast when they read his published defense. Friend and foe alike were amazed that he had confirmed the authenticity of Callender's account by taking any notice of it. Many agreed that he had effectively put an end to his political ambitions, which were widely believed to include the Presidency. Beckley had indeed scored a direct hit on the Federalist leadership.

Federalist domination of the political scene continued for several years, and Beckley failed in his attempts to regain his clerkship. His financial affairs continued to be critical, and he gave serious thought to returning to Richmond or moving to Kentucky. Somehow he managed to survive in Philadelphia, and finally a break came in 1800. He worked hard for the election of Thomas McKean as governor and he was elected. Soon after his election he appointed Beckley clerk of the mayor's court for the city of Philadelphia and clerk of the orphans' court for the county. This was indeed just retribution. The man removed from office was Joseph Hopkinson, McKean's nephew (and, incidentally, author of the words to "Hail Columbia"), whose wife was Emily Mifflin, daughter of the former governor, and whose sister had married Jonathan Williams Condy, Beckley's replacement as Clerk of the House. The combined salaries of the two posts

approximated Beckley's former salary as Clerk, of which McKean felt that he had been unjustly deprived.

From Beckley's point of view the tide was at last beginning to turn. Although he was seriously ill at the time, he must have been immeasurably cheered by the political news. John Adams had finally had more than enough of Hamilton's satellites in his cabinet and had disposed of both James McHenry and Timothy Pickering. There remained only Oliver Wolcott, and the opportunity for Beckley to help attack him again soon presented itself. Anthony Campbell, a clerk in the Auditor's Office of the Treasury Department, informed Israel Israel, sheriff of Philadelphia, that he had evidence of misuse of public monies on a large scale. He produced copies of the accounts of Pickering, Jonathan Dayton, Speaker of the House, and others, showing large sums due to the government. He insisted that these should be made public. Israel sought the advice of Beckley and William Duane, who had succeeded Benjamin Franklin Bache as editor of the *Aurora*. The men were intrigued but they were cautious. They wanted to see the actual records from which Campbell had obtained his information. They must be sure of the facts before giving the matter any publicity. Campbell then agreed to take the risk of "borrowing" the actual records on a Sunday morning for them to examine. He did so, and the group spent the day poring over them and recording the facts. They had Campbell return the books. Duane, with assistance from Beckley, then began a campaign of heckling Wolcott with pertinent questions about monies owed to the government, which Wolcott found very difficult to answer. This was continued throughout the summer. Wolcott soon realized that Duane had inside information and, as Campbell fully expected, he lost his job. So, too, did his friend William P. Gardner, who had aided him. In spite of Wolcott's defenses it was all too apparent that some rather dubious accounting practices had been followed in the Treasury Department and that considerable favoritism had been shown in the collection of monies due. Papers in other parts of the country naturally picked up this material from the *Aurora* and added their own commentary. Someone even suggested that a fire in the Treasury Department offices might be very convenient. Since the attacks had also in-

volved Wolcott's predecessor in office, Hamilton considered suing Duane, but thought better of it. The attack achieved its objective when Wolcott submitted his resignation to take effect December 31.

This was, of course, an election year, and the Republicans were delighted by any ammunition they could use against the Federalists. Beckley, who was always inclined to take an optimistic view, began to see hope of a Republican victory in November and determined to do everything within his power to help bring it about. He dug out an essay he had written in 1795 dealing with Federalist attempts to establish a standing army and sent it to his friend Ephraim Kirby, in Connecticut, to be republished as a pamphlet. He worked closely with Mathew Carey, Tench Coxe, and others in giving wide distribution to Republican propaganda. He devoted many hours to writing a 32-page *Address to the Citizens of the United States*, signed "Americanus," in which he attacked the record of the Federalists and refuted each charge they had made against Jefferson. He included a seven-page biography of Jefferson, the first ever published. Mathew Carey printed 2,000 copies of the first edition, and there were later editions published elsewhere. In spite of the personal tragedy of the death of his small daughter, Mary, his only child, he undertook a series of essays in the *Aurora*, defending Jefferson from the attacks of the clergy.

Beckley's efforts toward party organization at the grassroots level were so effective that Federalists accused the Republicans of establishing presses in every town and county in the country. Beckley would have been happy were it true. In October he somehow managed to obtain a copy of a pamphlet written by Hamilton, viciously attacking Adams and promoting Pinckney. It had been intended for secret distribution to certain key Federalists. Even before many of them had received their copies, Duane was publishing choice excerpts in the *Aurora*. Adams and his many supporters were furious, and even Hamilton's friends were once more astonished. The effect was quite as sensational as Duane and Beckley had hoped. Once again Beckley had thwarted the political plans of Hamilton, to his intense satisfaction. He wrote to a friend that Hamilton's attempts to replace Washington had

failed permanently. Many a Federalist sadly agreed.

The long-planned move of the federal government from Philadelphia to Washington was occurring during the fall of 1800, with all of the confusion and problems which might have been expected. Records and papers were stored in temporary quarters at Washington, pending completion of permanent depositories. On November 12th a fire occurred in the quarters of the War Department. Duane and others of the Republican press immediately suggested that it conveniently prevented scrutiny of the records by the Republican administration which would be coming in. They were not really as optimistic as they attempted to sound. There were strong indications that the election would be close. Beckley and his friends had felt sure that they could deliver all 15 Pennsylvania votes for Jefferson, but they were outmaneuvered by the state senate and had to settle for eight. The national vote ended in a 73-73 tie between Burr and Jefferson, with 65 for Adams, 64 for Pinckney, and one for Jay. Republicans of Philadelphia were summoned by Beckley to a meeting on December 19th to plan a public festival. They held it on January 3d at the "Sign of the Green Tree."

The tie vote between Jefferson and Burr could not be resolved until Congress officially recorded the vote in February. On January 20th a second fire broke out, this time in the house rented by the Treasury Department. Any doubt which many Republicans had about the earlier fire at the War Department was fully erased by the second, and the Republican press loudly proclaimed that both fires had been set. A few of the more moderate Republicans were still prepared to give the Federalists the benefit of the doubt, but Beckley was not among them. The House of Representatives appointed a committee to investigate the fires. It reached no definite conclusions about either fire, but it received quite a bit of evidence suggesting that the second one had been set. The fact that Samuel Dexter, secretary of war, was temporarily in charge of the Treasury Department complicated matters. Wolcott's resignation had become effective, but he was present at the fire and was accused of trying to save only his own papers. Dexter was eventually sued by the owner of the house, who implied that Wolcott had set the fire. Wolcott re-

turned to Washington from Albany for the trial and made a convincing defense against all charges.

Congress met on February 11 to decide the tie between Burr and Jefferson. Seven days later Jefferson won on the 36th ballot. It had been a tense and trying week, with talk of naming an interim President and threats of armed resistance to any attempt at usurpation. The reaction to the final decision was wild celebration by Republicans in all parts of the country. They had gone a long time without a major victory, and they had been subjected to every conceivable indignity by the Federalists during the Adams' administration. Few today realize that Republicans regarded this period when the Alien and Sedition Acts were in effect as a "reign of terror" and were genuinely afraid to make critical remarks in public or even in their private correspondence. It is not surprising that they celebrated. At Philadelphia one observer said that the bedlam was so continuous that he could not read a paper for three days. A grand "jubilee" was planned for March 4th, at which the "Ciceronian Beckley" would be the orator.

With the end of the hated Federalist domination, Republicans who had worked hard for their overthrow awaited Jefferson's appointments with interest. Few Republicans had held any public office under the earlier regimes. In fact, Adams had even made a number of last minute appointments before leaving office. Now at last the Republicans would have their turn. Few, if any, had worked harder than Beckley, and few had suffered more from loss of office. Surely he would be among the first to be rewarded. Jefferson was inundated with requests for appointment and letters of recommendation of friends. He was, however, reluctant to make appointments except where vacancies existed. He did remove from office those who had received "midnight appointments" from Adams. By July the outrage in the Republican press became so loud that he modified his stand and conceded that office holding should be equalized between the two parties. Slowly he removed from office any Federalist against whom any serious charges could be maintained. Many people sought Beckley's recommendation for appointment, and he wrote numerous letters for them. He was also consulted by cabinet members and others about the advisability of certain ap-

pointments. He made no written application on his own behalf. His friends began to be concerned. Monroe wrote to Jefferson about him. Governor McKean wrote on behalf of both Beckley and Tench Coxe, indicating he had done all he could for them. Jefferson replied that he shared McKean's concern but could see no immediate hope of a place for either of them. In October Jefferson wrote to Beckley that he assumed he would be reelected to his clerkship of the House and asked him to appoint one Samuel Hanson as an engrossing clerk. Beckley has left no written comment concerning Jefferson's treatment of him, but his son wrote many years later that Beckley had told his intimate friends that he thought Jefferson had failed him.¹

Beckley was again called upon to deliver an oration at the Fourth of July celebration in Philadelphia. Soon afterward Samuel Otis heard a rumor that Beckley was seeking to replace him as Secretary of the Senate, which may or may not have been true. Beckley was busily involved in local Philadelphia politics at the time and with sundry legal matters, but he did visit Washington in November, and William Duane is said to have promised Otis to help him keep his post in return for receiving Senate printing. Be this as it may, Otis did retain his office, and Beckley was reelected Clerk of the House on December 7, 1801.

When the Beckleys first came to Washington to live, they boarded in the home of Louis André Pichon, French chargé d'affaires, but they soon leased a house on Capitol Hill, at Delaware Avenue, between B and C Streets. Life in the newly created city must have seemed a bit strange after New York and Philadelphia, but many old friends had also made the move. Their social activities were rather restricted at first, because John was on crutches, suffering from gout and leg ulcers, and Maria was pregnant. A son, Alfred, was born on May 26, 1802. They had lost several children and only Alfred survived.

On the same day Beckley was reelected as Clerk, the House acted on another matter of concern to him, namely, the question of a congressional library. This was by no means a new idea but had been considered off and on for 20 years. In 1782 the Continental Congress had appointed a committee to study the proposal. Its members included James Madison and Theodo-

rick Bland, of Virginia, Dr. Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina, and Thomas Mifflin and James Wilson, of Pennsylvania. The committee prepared an impressive list of suggested books. It was a rather complete Americana for the period, with the exception of scientific works, including books by Cadwallader Colden, John Lawson, Robert Beverley, John Brickell, and others. In addition there were volumes on European, Chinese, and ancient history, geography, treaties, international law, and languages, as well as encyclopedias. A formal resolution that Congress establish its own library was presented by Bland, for the committee, but failed to pass. The probable reason for the failure was the availability of the facilities of the Library Company of Philadelphia, which had been founded in 1729 and owned something over 7,000 volumes.

Shortly after the first U.S. Congress convened in New York in 1789, the library question came up again. A committee made up of Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, Alexander White, of Virginia, and Aedanus Burke, of South Carolina was appointed to investigate the subject. They drew up a list of books they considered necessary for the use of the Congress. Ten months later Gerry reported for the committee a recommendation that they make an initial investment of \$1,000, to be followed by annual expenditures of \$500, to purchase an extensive list of volumes on state laws, laws of European nations, treatises on diplomacy, parliamentary procedure, and other such subjects. Congress passed this resolution but did not implement it. Evidently the fine library of the New York Society proved adequate for their needs during the short time they remained in New York, and when they moved back to Philadelphia, again the Library Company of Philadelphia seems to have provided for them. They did, from time to time, add to their own limited holdings by the purchase of such treatises as Blackstone's *Commentaries* and Vattel's *The Law of Nature and Nations*. In a more frivolous mood they even acquired Burns' poems. Rush's dissertation on yellow fever was probably purchased in response to the frightful epidemic of that dread disease which took the lives of 4,000 citizens of Philadelphia in 1793. In 1802 Congress owned only 243 volumes, which were in the care of the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House. Beckley had had experience

with this sort of library when he had been responsible for books and documents as clerk of the Virginia senate.

When the long-planned move to Washington became imminent, the Congress could no longer evade the issue of establishing its own library on a larger scale. The Capital City was new and afforded few amenities, and these did not include a library. On April 24, 1800, a bill was passed dealing with various problems connected with the removal from Philadelphia. One of its provisions dealt with the library question. Five thousand dollars was to be expended on books and furnishings to be purchased by the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House, as ordered by a joint committee. Senate members appointed to the committee were Samuel Dexter, of Massachusetts, William Bingham, of Pennsylvania, and Wilson Cary Nicholas, of Virginia. Qualifications of the House committee members were analyzed by Beckley's friend William Duane, no doubt to the delight of the readers of his *Aurora* (May 10, 1800): Robert Waln, of Pennsylvania, whose gift, said Duane, was the "study of bills of exchange, invoices and policies of insurance"; Virginia's Thomas Evans, "a heavy plodding attorney who has no doubt had great reading in *cases in point*"; and Leven Powell, who "has read Fisher's Arithmetic, Starke's Virginia Justice, and such other books as enabled him to fill with becoming dignity the important office of deputy sheriff, of the county of Loudon, in Virginia." In further lese majesty Duane suggested that the Library be decorated with numerous mirrors and paintings of royalty and that its books include 15 volumes by "Porcupine"; "*The Bloody Buoy & Cannibal Progress* for such members as are troubled with weak nerves"; Swift's "Art of political lying, and his tale of a tub—for the use of Mr. Pickering"; Machiavelli for Dexter "to be occasionally loaned to Liston"; and "*The Cuckold's Chronicle* for the use of General Hamilton." In spite of Duane's opinion of their abilities, the committee came up with a very respectable list of 152 works, totaling 740 volumes, at an estimated cost of just under £500. These were duly ordered from Cadell & Davies, of London, who had to supply many secondhand books for those out of print. They were shipped on December 9, 1800, and arrived in Baltimore in mid-April. They finally reached Georgetown in early May

and were temporarily stored, unopened, in the office of the Secretary of the Senate.

The books had at last arrived, but no regulations had been established for the operation of the Library. It was the appointment of a joint committee to draw up regulations and make other provisions for the operation of the Library that occurred on December 7, 1801, the day of Beckley's reelection as Clerk. The report of the committee, written by John Randolph, was presented two weeks later. It recommended that the room first occupied by the House, but which they had vacated, be converted for the use of the Library. This was a large and airy room, 86 feet long by 35 feet wide, with a 36-foot ceiling, and well lighted with two rows of windows. The report went further into elaborate detail on every facet of Library procedure. It specified that books, carefully numbered and labeled, should be placed "in portable cases with handles to them for the purpose of easy removal, with wire netting doors, and locks." In view of the two recent Washington fires, this would seem to have been a wise precaution. The existing libraries of the House and Senate were to be combined with the newly purchased volumes. The Secretary and the Clerk should oversee all arrangements in placing these, hanging the maps, and in ordering the necessary furniture. They should also have printed catalogs prepared, showing the number of each book and map, and should order book withdrawal slips printed, whose form the report designated. No more than two books could be withdrawn by a member at one time. Folios were to be returned within eight days, octavos and duodecimos in six. The Library would be open daily, except Sunday, from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. For the time being it would be presided over by the Secretary or the Clerk, or "some proper person for whose conduct they shall be responsible." At the beginning of each session of Congress they would give a report of the state of the library, including expenses and fines collected. In the meantime, the Secretary was directed to sell the hair trunks in which the books had been shipped from London and to render a statement of account.

While the above committee report provided for the Library to be presided over by either the Secretary or the Clerk for the time being, the act, when passed, provided for a permanent Librarian. He was to be paid not over two dollars for

each day of attendance, and he would be required to post bond to ensure the safety of the Library furnishings. Randolph moved to strike out one provision of the bill which would have permitted use of the Library by heads of departments, members of the Supreme Court, and foreign ministers. This motion was approved and the bill passed. It was signed by Jefferson on January 26, 1802.

Although the salary specified for the Librarian of Congress was not exactly impressive, there were many applicants for the post. A number of them evidently believed they could use it to supplement income from some other source. On the day following the joint committee's first meeting, John McDonald, "late of Philadelphia," applied. On January 15 Augustus Woodward wrote to Jefferson recommending William O'Neal. On the following day Dr. Richard Dinsmore applied for the position and was recommended by Stevens Thomson Mason. Madison and Gallatin were named as references by Edward Nicholls, a Maryland lawyer serving as a clerk in the Treasury Department. A letter of application from Thomas Claxton makes mention of the large number of applicants. Among the many was a clerk in Beckley's office, Josias Wilson King. When the Federalists replaced Beckley with Condy as Clerk of the House, Condy appointed King as his principal clerk. Somewhat surprisingly, Beckley retained King but appointed his old friend William Lambert as chief clerk. This meant a smaller salary for King, which he hoped to augment with the pay as Librarian. When he had completed enrolling the Library bill on January 21, King wrote to Jefferson, seeking the appointment and stating that he had obtained Beckley's permission to apply. There is no way of knowing whether or not Beckley had also informed him that he had already approached his friend Judge Levi Lincoln, U.S. attorney general, about his own interest in the position. Lincoln had told him that he would speak to Madison about it, but after learning of King's application Beckley wrote to Madison directly.

When Jefferson appointed Beckley Librarian, he added measurably to an already heavy load of duties and responsibilities. It was rather generally recognized that the duties of the Clerk of the House were more burdensome than those of the Secretary of the Senate. This was the reason for the belief of many that Beckley coveted Otis's

position. As early as the first session of Congress, Senator Maclay, of Pennsylvania, had noted in his diary that Beckley's goal was to be Secretary of the Senate. From time to time afterwards the word went around that Beckley would try to oust Otis. Many years earlier Beckley had replied to charges that he was overpaid as clerk of the Virginia house with a detailed description of those duties. They read like a very full-time job, indeed, and were certainly no less so in the U.S. House. As Librarian he would not be much concerned with the checking in and out of books, although he might do some. This part of the work would be done primarily by one of his many clerks. There would be a variety of time-consuming collateral duties, including lengthy meetings with congressional committees. One of the first such duties came when the committee asked him to determine how much of the original appropriation remained unspent, so that they might order additional books. When he investigated this, he discovered that there had been no statement of account rendered covering the books ordered from England.

Knowing Jefferson's deep interest in the Library, Senator Abraham Baldwin, a member of the joint congressional library committee, asked his advice concerning the purchase of additional books. On April 14, 1802, Jefferson replied:

I have prepared a catalogue for the Library of Congress in conformity with your ideas that books of entertainment are not within the scope of it, and that books in other languages, where there are not translations of them, are to be admitted freely. I have confined the catalogue to those branches of science which belong to the deliberations of the members as statesmen, and in these have omitted those desirable books, ancient and modern, which gentlemen generally have in their private libraries, but which cannot properly claim a place in a collection made merely for the purposes of reference.

In history I have confined the histories to the chronological works which give facts and dates with a minuteness not to be found in narrations composed for agreeable reading. Under the laws of nature and nations I have put down everything I know of worth possessing, because this is a branch of science often under the discussion of Congress, and the books written on it not to be found in private libraries. In law I set down only general treatises for the purpose of reference. The discussions under this head in Congress are rarely so minute as to require or admit that reports and special treatises should be introduced. The Parliamentary section I have imagined should be complete. It is only by having a law of proceeding, and by every member having the means of understanding it for himself and

appealing to it, that he can be protected against caprice and despotism in the chair. The two great encyclopedias form a complete supplement for the sciences omitted in the general collection, should occasion happen to arise for recurring to them. I have added a set of dictionaries in the different languages, which may be often wanting. This catalogue, combined with what you may approve in those offered by others, will enable you to form your general plan and to select from it every year to the amount of the annual fund of those most wanting. . . .²

Early in July, Beckley was able to send a statement of the unexpended appropriation (\$2,480.83) to Jefferson and to the committee. In his letter to Jefferson he suggested that the works of naturalists Georges Buffon and Mark Catesby be added to the Library. Surprisingly, he referred to Catesby as an American author. As Clayton's former scribe he should certainly have known that Catesby was English since Clayton had frequently sent specimens to Catesby in London. Beckley's servant, who brought the letter to Jefferson, also presented him with the House journals he had requested for Caesar Augustus Rodney. The latter, a Delaware Republican, was challenging James A. Bayard for his congressional seat. Beckley also wrote Jefferson that when Rodney came to the city he would make all of the newspaper files and printed documents available to him. On July 16th Jefferson notified Beckley that he had ordered 700 volumes approved by the committee for the Library. Six new presses, each four feet wide, would be needed to accommodate them.

Throughout the summer Beckley's ill health continued unabated. By late August he decided that only a cure at Virginia's sulfur springs could help him. Jefferson invited him to visit at Monticello for as long as he cared to stay, thinking he was going to the Augusta springs. He went instead to Berkeley Springs, near Martinsburg, a much easier trip. He spent September and October there during the congressional recess, returning home almost completely recovered. There he found that his old friend and family doctor, Benjamin Rush, had sent copies of six of his lectures. In thanking him he started what amounted to a new Library policy. He wrote that he hoped Rush would send him copies of all of his publications "that I may place them, where they so deservedly merit to be, on the first shelf appropriated, in our Congressional Library to works of Ethics and Philosophy."³ From this time on he

lost few opportunities to encourage authors to donate their writings to the Library. Some months later, on February 13, 1803, his friend Samuel Harrison Smith, editor of the *National Intelligencer*, noted that the Library "already embraces near fifteen hundred volumes of the most rare and valuable works in different languages. We observe with pleasure that authors and editors of books, maps, and charts begin to find that, by placing a copy of their works on the shelves of this institution, they do more to diffuse a knowledge of them than is generally accomplished by catalogues and advertisements."

Some years later Beckley evidently prompted Smith to repeat this advice for, on April 11, 1806, he again wrote in the *Intelligencer*:

It is worthy of the consideration of the authors and publishers of books in the United States, whether it would not be well worth their while to send copies to the keeper of the Congressional Library; By depositing their works in that collection, they will be seen and perused by gentlemen of distinction from all parts of the United States. The fame and emolument of the writers and proprietors of printed books can perhaps be promoted in no manner more effectually than by placing copies of them in this growing collection. It will be a publication of them to all the states and territories, in some respects more effectually than by advertisements in the newspapers, and by the distribution of catalogues. Gentlemen desirous of having their publications exhibited in this public and conspicuous place, may forward them, to Mr. Beckley the librarian, who will thankfully receive, and carefully preserve them, for the use of the Representative Bodies of the American nation.

One of the first Library matters to concern Beckley was the publication of a catalog of Library holdings as directed by the Congress. He prepared one and had it printed by William Duane in April 1802. It gave the number assigned to the work, the title, the number of volumes, the dollar value of the set "as near as can be estimated" and that of the individual book. There were 212 folios, 164 quartos, 581 octavos, and 7 duodecimos, making a total of 964 volumes. There were also nine maps and charts. A 2½-page supplement was published in October 1803, printed by James B. Westcott. A second catalog, 13½ pages long, appeared in 1804, with no printer's name mentioned. The "Record of Books Drawn—1800–1802," in manuscript, is still preserved in the Library.

Library accounts continued to pose a problem for some time. When Jefferson placed the second

CATALOGUE.

N ^o .	FOLIO's.	No. of Vols.	Value, as near as can be estimated.	
			WHOLE SET.	EACH BOOK.
			Dollars.	Dollars.
1	FATHERS PAUL's Council of Trent,	1	4	
2	Blair's Chronology, (not to issue,)	1	35	
3	Helvicus's Chronological Tables, -	1	3	
4	Booth's Diodorus Siculus, - - -	1	10	
5	Appian's History of the Civil Wars of the Romans, - - - - -	1	4	
6	Machiavel's Florentine History, -	1	3	
7	Duncan's Caesar, - - - - -	1	32	
8	De Haled's History of China, -	2	34	18
10	De Soli's Conquest of Mexico, -	1	4	
11	Rapin's History of England, - -	5	80	10
16	Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.	1	3	
17	Rushworth's Historical Collections,	8	34	3
25	Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, - - - - -	4	34	6
29	Guthrie's Geography, - - - - -	1	13	
30	Bayle's Dictionary, - - - - -	5	30	6
35	Postlewaite's Dictionary of Commerce,	2	24	12
37	Benwen's Lex Mercatoria, - - -	1	12	
38	Domus's Civil Law, - - - - -	2	12	6
40	Grotius, by Barbeyrac, - - - -	1	14	
41	Puffendorf, by ditto, - - - - -	1	24	
42	Sidney on Government, - - - -	1	10	
49	Dacot's Works, - - - - -	5	35	11

Catalogue of Books, Maps, and Charts, Belonging to the Library of the Two Houses of Congress (Washington City: Printed by William Duane, 1802) is the first printed catalog of the holdings of the Library of Congress and was prepared by John Beckley. Volumes were not listed by alphabet but rather by size. According to rules set up a few years later, size also determined how long an item could be kept by a borrower, as well as the amount of fine imposed on an overdue book. Rare Book Division.

CATALOGUE.

N ^o .	FOLIO's.	No. of Vols.	Value, as near as can be estimated.	
			WHOLE SET.	EACH BOOK.
			Dollars.	Dollars.
49	Biographia Britannica,	8	60	12
53	Coxe's Travels in Switzerland,	2	40	20
61	Atlas to Guthrie's Gazetteer,	11	111	10
62	Atlas to Guthrie's System of Geography,	1	Not to issue.	
63	American Atlas,	1		
64	Plates to Cook's third Voyage,	1		
65	Plates to Macartney's Embassy to China,	1		
66	Journals of the Lords and Commons, with the rolls and reports complete,	108	300	8
<i>Additional from the respective Library of the Senate and House of Representatives.</i>				
166	Journals House Commons,	18	84	3
186	State Trials,	14	118	8
300	Coke upon Littleton,	1	10	
301	Mortimer's Dictionary,	1	10	
302	Chambers' Dictionary,	4	36	9
306	Index to Chambers' Dictionary,	1	9	
307	Maritime Atlas,	8	33	7
313	Atlas to Guthrie's Geography,	1	10	
QUARTO's.				
1	Smith's Thucydides,	2	10	8
3	Hampson's Polybius,	2	14	7
6	Spellman's Dionysius,	4	28	7
9	Murphy's Tacitus,	4	30	7 50
13	Gibbon's Roman Empire,	6	84	9
19	Davilla's History of France by Farnsworth,	3	34	12
21	Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici,	3	34	12
23	Clavigero's History of Mexico,	3	34	12
25	Robertson's Charles,	5	18	6
28	Robertson's America,	3	24	12

CATALOGUE.

N ^o .	QUARTO's.	No. of Vols.	Value, as near as can be estimated.	
			WHOLE SET.	EACH BOOK.
			Dollars.	Dollars.
30	Robertson's Scotland,	2	32	12 50
32	Hume's History of England,	8	60	7 50
40	Leland's History of Ireland,	3	12	8
43	Ludlow's Memoirs,	1	7	
44	Belsham's History of George III., . . .	4	30	7 50
48	Edwards's History of the West Indies, .	2	18	9
50	Harris's Life of Gustavus Adolphus, . .	2	10	5
52	Coxe's Walpole,	3	27	9
55	Bougainville's Voyage,	1	6	
56	Souart's View of Society in Europe, . .	1	6	
57	Keith's History of British Plantations, .	1	4	
58	Hawkesworth's and Cooke's Voyages, .	6	72	9
66	Coxe's Russian Discoveries,	1	5	
67	Coxe's Travels in Poland,	3	30	8 50
70	Bruce's Travels,	3	35	7
75	Stamton's Embassy to China, (plates,) .	2	30	15
77	Morse's American Geography,	1	9	
78	Justinian's Institutes,	1	7	
79	Jacob's Law Dictionary,	2	30	10
81	Hatsell's Precedents,	4	22	5 50
88	Anderson's History of Commerce, . . .	4	32	8
89	Stuart's Political economy,	2	16	8
91	Sinclair on the British Revenue, . . .	1	34	
92	Reid on the powers of Man,	1	11	
93	Burke's Works,	3	31	7
96	Plates to Anascharis' Travels, (not to issue)	1		
<i>Additional from the respective Library of the Senate and House of Representatives.</i>				
97	Encyclopadia,	36	216	6
133	Statutes at large,	31	136	6
144	Hazard's State Papers,	2	16	8
156	Precedents House of Commons,	2	10	5
158	Hatsell's Precedents,	3	15	5
161	Guthrie's Geography,	3	18	6
164	Bibliotheca Americana,	1	6	

CATALOGUE.

N ^o .	OCTAVO's.	No. of Vols.	Value, as near as can be estimated.	
			WHOLE SET.	EACH BOOK.
			Dollars.	Dollars.
1	Universal History, Ancient and Modern	60	120	2
61	Rollin's Ancient History, - - -	8	20	2 50
69	Millot's Ancient and Modern History, -	5	15	3
74	Gillie's History of Greece, - - -	4	8	2
78	Anacharsis's Travels, - - -	7	18	2 50
83	Beloe's Herodotus, - - -	4	8	2
89	Rooke's Arrian, - - -	2	4	2
91	Spellman's Xenophon, - - -	2	6	3
93	Leland's Life of Philip of Macedonia, -	2	4	2
95	Leland's Demosthenes, - - -	3	6	2
98	Middleton's Cicero, - - -	3	8	2 50
101	Ferguson's Roman Republics, - - -	5	10	2
106	Langhorne's Plutarch, - - -	6	18	3
112	Russel's Ancient and Modern Europe, -	7	18	2 50
119	Henry's History of Great Britain, -	12	28	2 33½
131	Guicciardini's History of Italy, -	10	15	1 50
141	Littleton's Henry II., - - -	6	12	2
147	Bacon's Life of Henry VII., - - -	1	2 50	
148	Noble's Cromwell, - - -	2	5	2 50
150	Life of Monk, Duke of Albermarle, -	1	2	
151	Watson's Philip II. and III., - - -	5	10	2
156	Voltaire's Lewis XIV. and XV., - - -	2	3	1 50
158	Voltaire's Charles XII., - - -	1	1	
159	Memoir's of Philip de Comines, - - -	2	2	1
161	Sully's Memoirs, - - -	5	10	2
166	De Wint's Maxims, - - -	1	1	
167	Temple's Works, - - -	4	10	2 50
171	Constitution and Government of the Germanic Body, - - -	1	1 50	
172	Debrett's State Papers, - - -	8	32	4
180	Rabaut's French Revolution, - - -	1	2	
181	Herrera's History of America, - - -	6	9	1 50
187	Raynal's Indies, - - -	8	16	2
195	Wynne's British America, - - -	2	3	1 50
197	Near's History of New England, - - -	2	3	1 50
199	Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, -	1	1	
200	Stich's History of Virginia, - - -	1	1 50	
201	Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, - - -	1	2 50	
202	Smith's History of New York, - - -	1	2	

CATALOGUE.

N ^o .	OCTAVO's.	No. of Vols.	Value, as near as can be estimated.	
			WHOLE SET.	EACH BOOK.
			Dollars.	Dollars.
203	Smith's History of New Jersey, -	1	2	
204	Ramsay's History of South Carolina, -	2	4	2
206	Colden's History of the Five Nations, -	1	2	
207	Present state of Nova Scotia, - - -	1	2	
208	Du Pratz's History of Louisiana, -	1	2	
209	Gordon's Hist. of the American War, -	4	8	2
213	Ulloa's Voyage, - - -	2	4	2
215	Charlevoix's Journal, - - -	2	3	1 50
217	Carver's Travels, - - -	1	3	
218	Adanson's Voyage to Senegal, - - -	1	2	
219	Crutwell's Gazetteer, - - -	3	15	5
222	Morse's American Gazetteer, - - -	1	3	
223	Adams on the American Constitution, -	3	6	2
226	Boswell's Journal, - - -	1	2	
227	Rutherford's Institutes of Nat. Law, -	2	5	2 50
229	Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, - - -	1	2	
230	Vattel's Law of Nations, - - -	1	4	
231	Burlemaqui on Natural Law, - - -	2	4	2
233	Moloy de Jure Maritimo, - - -	2	4	2
235	Maxwell's Marine Law, - - -	1	4	
236	Chalmers' Collection of Treaties, - - -	2	5	2 50
238	Jenkinson's Collection of Treaties, -	3	8	2 50
241	Coke's Institutes, - - -	7	28	4
248	Viner's Abridgement, - - -	24	100	4
272	Woodeson's Lectures, - - -	3	18	6
275	Reeves on the Laws of England, - - -	4	8	2
279	Blackstone's Commentaries, - - -	4	12	3
283	Forster's Crown Law, - - -	1	3	
284	Beccaria on Crimes and Punishments, -	1	3	
285	Cooke's Bankrupt Law, - - -	2	5	2 50
287	Eden's Penal Law, - - -	1	2 50	
288	De Lolme on the Constitution, - - -	1	2 50	
289	Lex Parliamentaria, - - -	1	2	
290	Atkyn's Power of Parliaments, - - -	1	2	
291	Parliamentary Debates, - - -	104	313	3
293	Irish Debates, - - -	11	22	2
406	Petty's Political Arithmetic, - - -	1	1 50	
407	Smith's Wealth of Nations, - - -	3	6	2
410	Steele's Book of Rates and Customs, -	1	2	

CATALOGUE.

N ^o .	OCTAVO's.	No. of Vols.	Value, as near as can be estimated.	
			WHOLE SET.	EACH BOOK.
			Doll. & Cts.	Doll. & Cts.
411	Davenant on Trade,	3	10	3
416	Price on Annuities,	2	5	2 50
418	Deeves's Hist. of the Navigation Act,	1	3	
419	Sheffield on Commerce,	1	2	
420	Locke's Works,	9	27	3
429	Paley's Philosophy,	2	4	2
431	Smith's Moral Sentiments,	2	4	2
433	Burgh's Dignity of Human Nature,	1	2 50	
434	Rambler, Spectator, Adventurer and Tatler,	18	45	2 50
432	Blair's Lectures,	3	6	2
<i>Additional from the respective Library of the Senate and House of Representatives.</i>				
455	Hume's History of England,	14	56	4
473	Collection of Voyages,	4	16	4
477	New Annual Register,	12	48	4
489	Belknap's History,	3	9	3
492	Belknap's American Biography,	2	6	3
494	Gazetteur of France,	3	9	3
497	Paine's Geography,	4	12	3
501	Morse's Geography,	1	4	
502	Staunton's Embassy,	1	5	
503	St. Mary's St. Domingo,	1	4	
504	Ramsey's South Carolina,	2	8	4
506	Necker's Finances of France,	3	12	4
509	Anderson's Commerce,	6	18	3
513	Sheffield and Cox on American Commerce,	2	8	4
517	American Museum,	3	9	3
520	American Senator,	3	12	4
523	Congress Debates,	3	12	4
526	Monthly Review,	13	50	3
536	Paine's Miscellanies,	1	4	
537	Adams' Defence,	2	8	4
539	Reeves's English Law,	4	12	3
543	Blackstone's Commentaries,	4	16	4

CATALOGUE.

9

N ^o .	OCTAVO's.	No. of Vols.	Value, as near as can be estimated.	
			WHOLE SET.	EACH BOOK.
			Doll. & Cts.	Doll. & Cts.
547	Woodeson's Lectures, (<i>double set</i>)	3	12	4
553	Robinson's Reports,	1	4	
554	Cook's Bankrupt Laws,	1	4	
555	Miller on Insurance,	1	4	
556	Williams's Digest,	1	4	
557	Dallas's Reports,	3	12	4
560	Swift's System of Laws of Connecticut,	2	8	4
562	Heywood on Elections,	1	3	
563	Luder on Elections,	3	9	3
566	Frazer on Elections,	1	3	
567	Hogan's State Trials,	5	15	3
572	Chalmers' Collection of Treaties,	2	8	4
574	Vattel's Law of Nations,	1	5	
575	Rush on Yellow Fever,	1	3	
576	Varlo's Husbandry,	2	3	
578	Wenderborn,	2	4	2
580	Burns's Poems,	1	2	
581	World Displayed,	8	24	3
DUODECIMO's.				
1	Montesquieu's Roman Empire,	1	1	
2	Millot's History of France,	3	3	1
3	Memoirs of Brandenburg,	2	2	1
7	Federalist,	2	2	1

CATALOGUE	
MAPS AND CHARTS.	
1	A New Chart of History.
2	A Chart of Biography.
3	A Map of the United States, by Arrowsmith.
4	A Map of the United States, by Bradley.
5	A Map of Discoveries in the Interior of North America, by Arrowsmith.
6	A Map of South America, (Spanish) by Faden.
7	A Map of North and South Carolina, by Mason.
8	A Chart of the Coast of New York to North Carolina.
9	A Chart of the Coast of North and South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida.

order for books, he requested George W. Erving, U.S. consul at London, to assist an agent of William Duane in purchasing the books. He did so because he thought that Cadell & Davies had been far too high on the first order. He advised Erving (July 16, 1802) to look for "neat bindings, not splendid ones," and smaller volumes rather than the expensive folios—"good editions, not pompous ones." Robert R. Livingston, U.S. minister to France, was asked to supervise the selection of books ordered from Pougers, Paris booksellers. Erving reported that the English books had cost £68 but no statement was received from Livingston. Jefferson decided to wait for his return to this country to inquire about the cost. When finally he was able to talk to Livingston, the minister could furnish no figures. He had supposed that the bankers involved had furnished him figures. On January 10, 1806, Jefferson wrote to Gallatin asking if the bankers had sent him an accounting. He suggested that if they had not done so, that he, Jefferson, and Beckley could work out an approximation.

By March Jefferson had solved the problem. He wrote Beckley that when he had written to Pougers placing the order for books, he had also ordered some volumes of an encyclopedia for himself. He had specifically warned Pougers not to confuse the two orders and to be careful to pack and address them separately. In spite of these instructions, Pougers had packed his books with those for the Library. Livingston had paid them \$1,866 for the Library's books, and \$535 for Jefferson's books. Packaging and shipping costs to Le Havre had been charged to the Library account. Matters were further complicated by the addition of two hampers of wine for Jefferson, who had paid transportation costs of everything from Le Havre to Georgetown. The confusion was ended by Jefferson's sending Beckley a check for \$39.94, which he had decided he should pay. This, with Jefferson's explanatory letter, was presented by Beckley to the Vice President and the Speaker of the House for "their approbation, pursuant to law."

Among the Librarian's duties was that of acting as host to dignitaries visiting the Library. The new Capitol began to attract visitors, and the Library was becoming one of the sights. This was certainly one of Beckley's more pleasant duties. In June 1804, Charles Willson Peale, Dr.

25 John Smith New York

1800

Novem 20 Adams's defence. 1 Vol. returned 1st March 1801

Went's digest. (packed up by General Win. Ireland 27 Feb)

1801.

Dec: 10th. 17th V. Encyclopaedia

11th ... Went's digest.

1802.

Jan'y 2^d ... American Senator 1st.

RET.

Part of a page from "Record of Books Drawn—1800–1802." This record book was used for other purposes as well; see page 103. Manuscript Division.

Library of Congress,

6th March 1806.

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter and statement of your account with the Committee of the Library, with a check enclosed for the balance therein of £39-9s cents. I shall lay the account before the Vice president and Speaker for their approbation, pursuant to law, and apply the check to your credit for the balance agreeable to your statement.

With unforgotten respect,

I am, dear Sir,

Your obed^t Serv^t

John Beckley, Librarian

Letter to Thomas Jefferson acknowledging receipt of his payment to the Library when Pougers, Paris booksellers, mistakenly packaged and shipped his personal order together with an order for books for the Library. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.

Fothergill, of Bath, and other distinguished gentlemen accompanied the famous German naturalist Baron Alexander von Humboldt on a visit. They admired the Senate chamber, the view from the top of the Capitol, and Pennsylvania Avenue, with its four rows of trees. Peale recorded in his diary: "We first went to the Library, where Mr. Beckley received us with politeness, and also accompanied us through the other apartments. The Library is a spacious and handsome Room, and although lately organized, already contained a number of valuable books in the best taste of binding." *

There were personnel problems to worry Beckley. The most serious of these involved Josias King, the Federalist clerk whom he had inherited from Condly in the Clerk's office. Since King had sought the post of Librarian for himself, there was, naturally, resentment toward Beckley. Apparently it was to some degree suppressed for several years, but finally, in December 1805, Beckley fired him. King wasted little time in taking his case to the House. He prepared a memorial that made two major accusations against Beckley. The first was that Beckley had appointed him assistant librarian "to label, arrange and take charge of the books in the library" and had promised to divide the Librarian's salary with him but had failed to do so. For a number of reasons it seems most unlikely that Beckley had made such an agreement. In the first place he needed money desperately himself. Secondly, King was already fully employed in the Clerk's office and could easily have been assigned to library work instead. Furthermore, if Beckley had been making such an arrangement it would seem far more likely that he would have picked one of the clerks who had worked for him for years, such as Lambert. It also seems strange that King continued to work for several years without receiving the promised compensation. Evidently the committee of accounts, assigned by the House to investigate his charges, agreed, for they found no basis for this charge. The second charge involved a grant of additional compensation made by the House to certain employees for extra services rendered, March 27, 1804. This grant of \$1,700 included \$200 for King and was to be paid out of the contingency fund of the House. King did not receive his money at that time and borrowed it from a Washington bank

In "Record of Books Drawn—1800-1802" is what appears to be a fair copy of Josias Wilson King's petition to the House of Representatives outlining his grievances against Beckley.

In the first two paragraphs of his petition, presented by Joseph H. Nicholson, of Maryland, King charges that the salary of the Librarian of Congress was not divided equally with him as Beckley had promised. In the third paragraph he contends that Beckley withheld "reimbursement of interest on grants heretofore made by the House to the Memorialist." In the final paragraph he asks for redress for having been fired by Beckley in December 1805.

King then traces the course of his petition through committee, which concluded that "the memorialist has no claim upon the clerk of the House of Representatives, as prayed for by him, and that his memorial ought not to be granted." Manuscript Division.

5) Bailey Bartlett New Hampshire
Presented by Mr. Nicholson (of Maryland)

To the honorable the Speaker and members of the House
of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled.
The Memorial of Josias Wilson King, Clerk in the
office of the clerk to the House:-

Respectfully Sheweth

That at the first session of the Seventh Congress, immediately
after the passage of the act "concerning the library for the use of both Houses
of Congress" your memorialist was appointed assistant librarian, to label,
arrange and take charge of the books of the said library; that the
memorialist accordingly performed the said duty, and also executed the
trust reposed in him as a clerk in the office of the clerk to the House,
at the same time.

That the present clerk of your honorable body, who was appointed
librarian by the President of the United States, agreed to divide equally
the compensation with your memorialist allowed by the said act, during
the time he continued to serve in the library; but the memorialist has
not hitherto received the said compensation, as he had a right to expect,
although repeated applications have in vain been made therefor, from
the year 1802, to the present time.

Your Memorialist begs leave to call the attention of the House
to another claim, to which, he conceives he is justly entitled; that is a
reimbursement of interest on grants heretofore made by the House to the
memorialist for extra services rendered by him in the office, which, in
consequence of their being withheld by the clerk, he was compelled to
pay to the branch bank of the United States at the City of Washington, to
enable him to receive nearly the amount of the same; while it can be
proved by incontestable evidence, that the present clerk to your honorable
body allowed and paid interest on a certain demand on the same
fund out of which your Memorialist, in his opinion, ought to have
been punctually paid at the time the grants were made.

New-Ham

The Memorialist is likewise under the painful necessity of representing, to the House, that after having constantly served as a Clerk in their office, from the Spring of the year 1797 to the 1st of December, 1805, he was, on that day, discharged by the present Clerk of the House, in the Winter Season, with a family to support, and no resources whatever to provide for them;—and (to heighten the cruelty and unfeeling inflexibility manifested in the proceeding) without any charge against him which could, in the smallest degree, impeach his diligence or fidelity in the execution of his public duty: He therefore prays that you will be pleased to take the premises into consideration, and so far as may be consistent with equity and justice to afford that redress which has been denied to him by one of the officers of your House.

And the Memorialist as in duty bound &c.

Josias Wilson King

18 February, 1806. Referred to the Committee of accounts.

[Report made the 5th March, 1806, and referred to a committee of the whole House, on Monday next.]

The Committee of accounts, to whom was referred the memorial of Josias Wilson King, submit the following Report:

That the only part of the memorial intitled to the consideration of the House, is a claim for interest on grants heretofore made to the memorialist, from the contingent fund, and withheld from him by the Clerk.

The House of Representatives, on the 27th day of March,

7) James A. Bayard Delaware.

1804, made a specific grant of additional compensation to their officers, amounting to \$1700, payable out of the contingent fund of the House, in which was included a grant to the memorialist of 200 dollars. For want of funds in the hands of the clerk, these gratuities were not paid until the month of December, 1804; and that he had not funds for that object, appears by a balance due to him of \$192.15, upon the settlement of his accounts with the Treasury, on the 19th day of October, in the same year; and by an appropriation made of \$2,500, early in the session of Congress for that year, to supply the deficiency of the last appropriation for the contingent fund.

Your committee therefore report, that the memorialist has no claim upon the clerk of the House of Representatives, as prayed for by him; and that his memorial ought not to be granted
[Not further acted upon]

and, of course, paid interest to the bank. He now asked that he be reimbursed for the interest paid. At the time the House made the grant, the contingency fund had already been overspent by \$192.15, and Congress adjourned without replenishing the fund. It was not until the next session of the Congress that an appropriation was made to the contingency fund and King and others could be paid. It would appear that the committee was correct in concluding that the memorialist had no claim against Beckley.⁵

In view of his own sad experience, it seems most unlikely that Beckley would have fired a young man with a family to support at Christmas time without extreme provocation. He would have been well justified in firing King when he was reelected as Clerk but had kept him on for several years. In spite of the fact that the committee of accounts completely exonerated Beckley at the time, historians have tended to cite King's testimony in support of the thesis that Beckley neglected the Library. This cannot be justified.

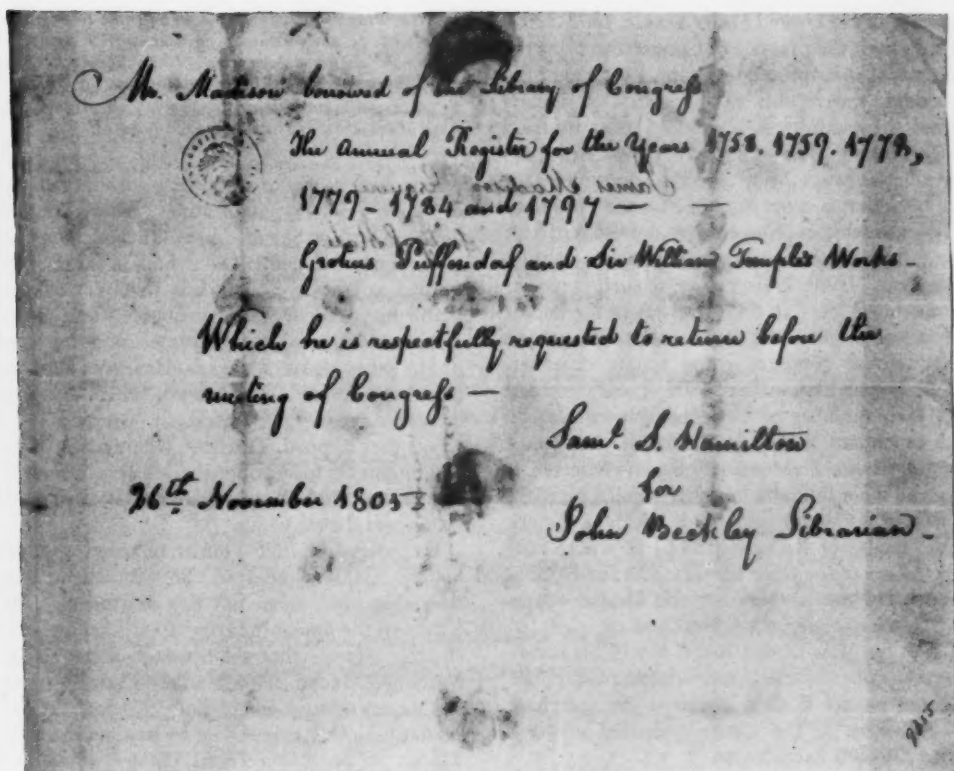
The Library had other problems besides those of personnel. In 1805 the House took back the impressive room it had assigned to the Library and substituted a former committee room. This was situated in a wing of the building which was already in such bad repair that the floor was shaky and the roof leaked. In addition to these difficulties, the room was too small to accommodate the rapidly growing collections of books and maps. In spite of having moved the Library to inadequate quarters, Congress continued to provide for its growth. In December 1805, the Senate appointed a committee to "inquire into the expediency of purchasing maps and books for the library." The committee chairman, Samuel Latham Mitchill, was an excellent choice. At 28, he had been professor of chemistry, natural history, and agriculture at Columbia University. His erudition was not confined to these subjects, and he was known as the "Stalking Library" by his colleagues.

Mitchill reported to the Senate on January 20 that "Every week of the session causes additional regret that the volumes of literature and science within the reach of the National Legislature, are not more rich and ample." Not only did it lack "geographical illustrations" but it was deficient in works on historical and political subjects. He thought that an untutored government would be



Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill (1764-1831). From an engraving in The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans, vol. 1. Chairman of the committee to select books and later chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress, Mitchill, who served both as a Representative and as a Senator from New York, was known variously by his contemporaries as the "Nestor of American science," "the Congressional dictionary," "the Congressional Library," and "a chaos of knowledge," as well as the "stalking library."

no danger provided that "steps be seasonably taken to furnish the library with such materials as will enable statesmen to be correct in their investigations, and, by a becoming display of erudition and research, give a higher dignity and a brighter lustre to truth." The Senate was impressed and his advice resulted in the act of 21 February 1806, which allocated \$1,000 per annum for five years for the purchase of books and maps for the Library. It also officially, for the



Mr. Madison Secretary of the Library of Congress
 The Annual Register for the Years 1758, 1759, 1778,
 1779-1784 and 1797 —
 Grotius Puffendorf and Sir William Temple's Works —
 Which he is respectfully requested to return before the
 meeting of Congress —
 26th November 1805
 Samuel S. Hamilton
 for
 John Beckley Librarian.

The first Librarian's letter to James Madison, who was then secretary of state, requesting the return of material he had borrowed. At this time the privileges of the Library were limited to Members of Congress. James Madison Papers, Microfilm Series 1, reel 8. Manuscript Division.

first time, permitted the secretaries of state, war, navy and treasury, as well as the attorney general, to use the Library. There had already been times when these gentlemen had consulted works there and even withdrawn them. The previous November Samuel S. Hamilton, acting for "John Beckley Librarian," had sent a notice to the secretary of state: "Mr. Madison borrowed of the Library of Congress: The Annual Register for the Years 1758, 1759, 1778, 1779-1784 and 1797. Grotius Puffendorf and Sir William Temple's Works—Which he is respectfully requested to return before the meeting of Congress." Another new feature of the act was authorization for the

purchase of books published in the United States. Of the \$1,000 appropriated for 1806, Mitchill, Joseph Clay, and John Quincy Adams were each allowed to spend \$494 for books bought in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. This idea may have been initiated by Col. William Tatham, who recommended purchasing Americana—perhaps exhibiting a personal interest since he offered to sell the Library his own collection.

The liveliest accounts of the Library come from the pen of Federalist Senator William Plumer, of New Hampshire. During Beckley's five years as Librarian, the two men continued a running feud. Plumer wrote in his *Memorandum of Pro-*

ceedings in the United States Senate, 1803-1807: "It has been the practice of Congress to print the journals of their proceedings, the messages of the president, the reports of the heads of departments—of committees—board of commissioners of the Sinking fund—&c &c &c. Of each of these there has always been printed supernumerary numbers, that is, more than one for the President, Vice President, each senator & representative & head of departments, who are regularly furnished with them. These spare copies, & such copies as the members leave in their drawers at the end of the session, are in the recess carried up in the large lumber room over the senate chamber. When I came here in Dec. 1802, I was informed that each member of Congress was entitled to each document if he would take the trouble of selecting them. I accordingly began—selected & removed a considerable number when I received a message indirectly from John Beckly [sic] clerk of the House of Representatives, in whose custody the key of the chamber was, that those documents were the property of the United States & that members of Congress had no right to them. A few days after I found one of his favorites: a member of the House selecting a number of those papers. I then renewed my search & in the course of the session procured a trunk of them, which I sent home." ⁶

Plumer continued his collections and four years later possessed all copies of the *Congressional Journal* from 1774 to 1806, as well as many documents, the whole amounting to more than 70 volumes, although they did not constitute a complete set. Finding that Otis would have the Journals bound and charge the cost to the government, Plumer had between 40 and 50 done (the Clerk of the House maintained no such practice). During December 1806 he spent two hours daily, with the exception of Sundays, collecting. Towards the end of the month, Beckley withheld the key from the librarian on duty. Approached by Plumer, he was reluctant to give it to him but finally consented to do so. Plumer realized that his time was limited: "I was aware that my spending so much time in this business would induce other gentlemen to procure documents—& that the doors would soon be shut against us all—I therefore pursued & closed my search as soon as time would admit. I have procured a large box of these documents for the

William Plumer's account of how he came to begin his collection of congressional documents: "I found in the large chamber over that of the Senate a great body of them lying on the floor in promiscuous heaps." From the William Plumer Papers, vol. 18, Autobiography. Manuscript Division. See also page 110.

Massachusetts historical Society—and a large trunk of them for my inquisitive friend Ichabod Tucker, Esq. of Salem. . . . Neither of these two collections of documents are half so large & extensive as mine. . . ." It was well that Plumer made his collections, for many of these documents were housed in the lumber room for want of any other place of storage. Here was kept the glass for window replacements, which meant a continual parade of workmen, unmindful of where they stepped. The floor, where many of the documents lay for want of shelves, was filthy with plaster and rubbish and a leaking roof dripped water over them.

By the end of 1806 Plumer reported approximately 2,000 volumes in the Library he considered a great boon to "this desert-city." Mr. Kearney, the acting librarian appointed by Beckley, told Plumer that the Speaker of the House, Nathaniel Macon, considered the Library "a useless expence" and would like to repeal the law establishing it. Kearney said he had never known Macon to borrow a book. Plumer noted that Mitchill was one of those who had purchased books with the 1806 appropriation, among which was *The Secret History of the Court and Cabinet of St. Cloud* (Philadelphia: John Watts, 1806), an anonymous publication derogatory of Napoleon and his court. Plumer considered it a most improper book for the Library, particularly since Napoleon had complained to the British concerning a similar book. Bristling, Plumer immediately approached Kearney and "asked him if that book belonged to the library. He answered that it did not. I told him I had seen it on the *written* additional catalogue. He replied, it once belonged to the library—but Dr. Mitchel had withdrawn it. I answered, I approve of that. He said, *no book in the library was in so much demand. It was constantly out—and in the Course of a week it was several times read—The number who took it for the week, read it, & lent it to others.* Such a currency has scandal, especially when its shafts are directed against a great man." When Plumer questioned Mitchill, he was told

108.

Aged 44.

1803

Reported an amendment, but when it was read in the Senate I was so much embarrassed that I could not state the principles on which it was made. This circumstance surprised & mortified me, for I had long been in the habit of speaking freely in public.

Soon after my arrival at Washington I began to make a collection, for my own use, of the documents which had been printed by Congress. I found in the large chamber over that of the Senate a great body of them lying on the floor in promiscuous heaps. The practice of printing had then commenced in 1789, & each member was furnished with a copy; & when a session terminated, several of the gentlemen not considering them of much value, or ^{not} having a convenient mode of carrying them home, left them & the doorkeeper deposited them with the spare documents in a room ^{appropriated} for that purpose. After Congress removed from Philadelphia these papers were transported in waggons to Washington & put into the place I mentioned. And at the end of each session the copies that remained were added to the heaps. To select from this vast mass a set of the documents, was a laborious task, to which I devoted much of my leisure time. It is to the tedious days that I spent in that damp chamber, that I am now indebted for a larger & more complete set of those public papers than any other individual in the nation possesses.

If the U. S. Library of New England could be maintained, it would

that the bookseller had mistakenly included it in the order. Acidly, Plumer noted in his memorandum, "How unwilling we are to own our errors, & how natural to charge them upon others."?

Beckley could not long suppress his love of city political affairs. He was soon involved in Washington city government, as he had been in Richmond and in Philadelphia. He was fourth in the number of votes received among nine men elected to the Second Chamber in June 1805, and he was soon acting as *President pro tem* of that body on numerous occasions. It is remarkable that he should have undertaken any of this, for he was entangled in serious legal problems concerning his land holdings in western Virginia, was desperately pressed financially, and was in extremely poor health. Although his health improved briefly from time to time, it

continued to deteriorate, and he died on April 8, 1807.

Like many great institutions, the Library of Congress began in a small way, beset by many problems. The first librarianship was a part-time appointment for an already very busy man. He held the office for only a few years and died before the Library was given much opportunity by Congress for rapid growth. There is, however, good reason to believe that Beckley took his duties seriously and that he foresaw future greatness for the Library. In his brief term as Librarian he established it as a well-organized and rapidly growing entity, enjoying the confidence of the Congress and the admiration of the public. On this firm foundation others have been able to build.

Postscript:

Beckley's death left his entire life savings tied up in a lawsuit which continued for the next 28 years. His wife, Maria, her mother, and his son, Alfred, were left without funds in a rather desperate situation. Even worse, there was the embarrassment of debts owed to Jefferson, Rush, and others who had rescued Beckley from the threat of debtors' prison during the "reign of terror," and whom he had never been able to completely repay. After various attempts to support herself, Maria found it necessary to make her

home with Senator Brown's family and, later, the family of John Fowler in Kentucky. She died in Lexington in 1833. At the suggestion of Gen. William Henry Harrison, James Monroe appointed Alfred to West Point, from which he graduated in 1823. He had served at various military posts when the final settlement of his father's legal entanglement made him the sole heir to a very large and very valuable tract of unsettled land in what today is West Virginia. He resigned from the army and built the first house on what ultimately became the city of Beckley, which he named for his father.

NOTES

¹ "Autobiography" of Alfred Beckley, Paxton Davis Papers (made available by Prof. Paxton Davis, Washington and Lee University, who is a descendant of John Beckley).

² Andrew A. Lipscomb, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, 20 vols. (Washington: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association of the United States, 1902), 19:128-29.

³ Beckley to Benjamin Rush, 8 November, 1802, B1-2, pp. 96-97, Library Company of Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁴ Herman R. Friis, "Baron Alexander von Humboldt's

Visit to Washington, D.C., June 1 through June 3, 1804," *Columbia Historical Society Records*, 1960-1962, p. 16.

⁵ Joseph Gales, ed., *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States, 1789-1824*, 9th Congress, 1st Session, 19th February 1806 and 3 February 1806, p. 429.

⁶ Everett Somerville Brown, ed., *William Plumer's Memorandum of Proceedings in the United States Senate 1803-1807* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1923), pp. 537-39.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 559.

ADDENDUM ON WILLIAM PLUMER

What follows is an excerpt from the William Plumer Papers, vol. 1, Diary, part 2, in the Manuscript Division, giving a full account of the New Hampshire Senator's "collecting activities."

William Plumer (1759-1850). From a reproduction of an engraving by St. Memins. Prints and Photographs Division.

576Dec 22. 1856.

belong to Brun & his partisans - & to prevent them from descending the Ohio - & to seize & arrest certain persons in the western States.

Tuesday 23^d

This day Robert Smith, the Secretary of the Navy paid me a visit by leaving his card at my lodging.

It has been the practice of Congress to print the journals of their proceedings, the ^{the} messages of the President, the reports of heads of departments of committees - board of commissioners of the Sinking fund - &c &c. Of each of these there has always been printed supernumerary numbers, that is, more than one ^{for} of the President, Vice President,

Dec 23, 1806.

577

each senator & representative head of departments, who are regularly furnished with them. These spare copies, & such copies as the members leave in their drawers at the end of the session, are in the recepts carried up in the large lumber room over the senate chambers.

~~When~~ I came here in Decr 1802, I was informed that each member of Congress was entitled to each document if he would take the trouble of selecting them. I accordingly began - selected & removed a considerable number, when I received a message ^{indirectly} from John Beckley clerk of the House of Representatives, in whose custody the key of the chamber was,

578.

Dec 23, 1806.

That those documents were the property of the United States, & that members of Congress had no right to them. A few days after I found one of his associates, a member of the House selecting a number of those papers. I then renewed my search & in the course of the session procured a trunk of them, which I sent home. This session I have bro't on a list of those I obtained formerly & have now re-examined the whole maps that remained in the chamber. I have obtained all the journals of Congress from 1774 to this time, except to the journal of the Senate of their first session.

Dec 23 1806.

579

and a great many documents - more than 70 volumes - but not a complete set. Some of those I have are of little value - but my object was to get all ~~not having~~ time to discriminate the useful & important from the useless & trivial.

The key is now kept by W. Kearney the librarian, who owes his appointment to Beechley. To the librarian I owe many thanks for his politeness & attention. I have every day, Sundays excepted, this ~~morning~~ ^{evening} spent two hours in that chamber. Near the close of the last day, I discovered a disposition in Beechley to withhold the key from me. The librarian was deprived of it. I went to Beechley requested, and

580Dec 23, 1806

he with great reluctance gave it to me. I was aware that my spending so much time in this business would induce other gentlemen ^{that the doors would soon be shut against us all} to procure documents. I therefore pursued & closed my search as soon as time would admit.

I have procured a large box of these documents for the Massachusetts Historical Society & a large trunk of them for my inquisitive friend Jacob Tucker Esq of Salem. With the Society they will long be preserved & rendered useful. Mr Tucker contemplates a compilation of facts relative to this country in which these documents will aid him.

Dec 23, 1806.

581

Neither of these two collections of documents are half so large & extensive as mine. tho' as much so as I was able to make them.

The documents, principally, lay on the floor without any order - covered & mixed up with dirt, plaster and rubbish. They are much diminished since 1802. The water, in every ^{that falls,} rain, runs thro' the roof & wets these papers. They will soon be destroyed. They are trodden under foot by workmen - for in the same room are a great quantity of glass in baskets with straw - window sashes &c. The new edition of the Journals of the old Congress, which the United States, have lately purchased are in the same situation. It is really a pity that documents, ~~some~~ of which are

582

Dec 23, 1806.

so valuable, should be suffered thus wantonly to be destroyed.

The quantity of water on the papers, the dirt & filth in the chamber, has rendered it unhealthy. And I greatly rejoice that I have fulfilled the task I imposed upon myself - & that I have rescued so many useful papers from inevitable ruin.

At the session of 1803, I found it was the practice of the Secretary of the Senate to pay for the binding of the journals and documents. Since that period I have had about 40 ~~or~~ volumes bound at the expense of the United States. This practice has not been adopted by the Clerk of the House.

Wednesday 24th

at the second election of President and,



For Congress & the Nation

A view of the Main Building of the Library of Congress, showing its gold-plated dome capped by the Torch of Learning, taken in 1898 from the grounds of the U.S. Capitol. Authorized in 1886, the building opened its doors to an admiring public on November 1, 1897. On Thanksgiving Day, November 25, 1897, over 4,700 visitors toured the Library. The structure was hailed as a national monument.

In 1950, the sesquicentennial year of the Library of Congress, the eminent librarian S. R. Ranganathan paid the Library and the U.S. Congress an unusual tribute:

The institution serving as the national library of the United States is perhaps more fortunate than its predecessors in other countries. It has the Congress as its godfather. . . . This stroke of good fortune has made it perhaps the most influential of all the national libraries of the world.¹

A quarter of a century later, the Library built by the American Congress has achieved an even greater degree of preeminence. Since 1950 its collections and staff have tripled and its annual appropriation has soared from \$8 million to over \$96 million. With its collections totaling over 73 million pieces, its staff over 4,300 persons, and the scope of its services unmatched by any other research library, today the Library of Congress is one of the leading cultural institutions of the world. The truly unique feature of the Library of Congress, however, is its dual nature as both a legislative library for the American Congress and a "national" library for the general public, the professional library community, the executive agencies of the U.S. government, and scholars around the world. In this sense, it brings together the efforts of government, librarianship, and scholarship—an uncommon combination, perhaps, but the result has benefited each of these segments of American society.

Since its establishment on April 24, 1800, the Library of Congress has been part of the legislative branch of the American government, and even though it is recognized as the de facto national library of the United States, its primary purpose is and always has been reference and research service for the Congress. The purpose of

The Dual Nature of the Library of Congress

by John Y. Cole

John Y. Cole is on the staff of the assistant director for library resources, Reference Department.

this essay is to analyze, from a historical perspective, how this creation of the American legislature became, in the words of historian Allan Nevins, "the most broadly useful library on the face of the globe."²

Origins

Historians of the Library of Congress usually have contended that the institution's first 64 years were relatively undistinguished. Frederick W. Ashley, for example, notes that in 1864 the Library was so far behind other libraries "in size, in quality, and in other services performed that in an article on American libraries published that year in *Harper's Monthly*, the Library of Congress was not mentioned."³ It is true that the Library, then housed in the west front of the Capitol, was inconspicuous and only sparingly used by the legislators. It also is true that its accomplishments in later years were far more spectacular. Nevertheless, there were three developments between 1800 and 1864 that permanently established the Library's national roots—and the shape of its future growth. First, the Library of Congress was created by the *national* legislature, which took direct responsibility for its operation. Secondly, the Library of Congress served as the first library of the American *government*. Since the second decade of its existence, it has been used by executive agencies, the judicial branch, and the general public, as well as by the Congress. Finally, in 1815, the scope of the Library's collection was permanently expanded, an event of crucial importance since the functions of the Library of Congress have derived from its collections, not vice versa.

The Library of Congress was established as the American legislature prepared to move from Philadelphia to the new capital city of Washington. In section five of "An Act Making Further Provision for the Removal and Accommodation of the Government of the United States," signed by President John Adams on April 24, 1800, a sum of \$5,000 was appropriated "for the purchase of such books as may be necessary for the use of Congress at the said city of Washington, and for fitting up a suitable apartment for containing them." The President of the United States has played an influential role in the affairs of the Library since the origin of the institution. On January 26, 1802, President Thomas Jefferson, who

was keenly interested in books and in the new Library, approved an act "Concerning the Library for the Use of Both Houses of Congress." The first law to specify the functions of the Library, this measure created the post of Librarian of Congress and made it a presidential appointment, set up a joint congressional committee to establish the Library's rules and regulations and supervise its operation, and, "for the time being," restricted the use of the Library to the President, the Vice President, and Members of Congress.

Jefferson appointed his friend and former campaign manager John Beckley, who was also serving as Clerk of the House of Representatives, to be the first Librarian of Congress. The President kept in close touch with Library business; for example, he prepared a desiderata list that served as the basis for its early acquisitions. After Beckley's death in 1807, Jefferson appointed the new Clerk of the House, Patrick Magruder, as Librarian. Seven years later, a catastrophic event occurred: in August 1814 the British army captured Washington and burned the Capitol, including the 3,000-volume Library of Congress. The Library was soon reestablished, but Librarian Magruder resigned his post in early 1815.

Before its destruction, the Library was developing into a small but apparently adequate collection. Moreover, with the approval of Congress, it was slowly becoming accessible to a wider range of users. In 1812 a joint resolution authorized the justices of the Supreme Court to use the Library in accordance with the "same terms, conditions, and restrictions as members of Congress." In the same year, members of the general public were permitted, for the first time, to borrow books—subject to the discretion of the Librarian and provided that a security deposit was left.

The broadening of the scope of the Library's collections has been the cornerstone for the extension of the Library's services—to Congress and to the rest of the nation. The most important single expansion of the collection was the 1815 purchase of ex-President Thomas Jefferson's private library to replace the books lost in 1814.

The purchase of Jefferson's 6,487-volume library not only doubled the size of the Library of Congress, it also changed the nature of the collection. The first Library of Congress collection consisted chiefly of historical and legal works.

Jefferson's personal library contained books that reflected his own comprehensive interests in philosophy, history, geography, science, and literature, as well as political and legal treatises. Anticipating the argument that his library might be too comprehensive in scope to be truly useful to a legislative body, Jefferson used a phrase which, to this day, justifies the comprehensive collecting policy of the Library of Congress:

I do not know that (my library) contains any branch of science which Congress would wish to exclude from their collection; there is, in fact, no subject to which a member of Congress may not have occasion to refer.⁴

There was opposition in the House of Representatives to the Jefferson purchase, both for political reasons and because individual Congressmen objected to specific works in the library, including the books by Voltaire, Rousseau, and John Locke. But the vote in the House was 71-61 in favor, and President Madison signed the act authorizing the expenditure of \$23,950 for the Library on January 30, 1815.

Proponents of the Jefferson purchase had argued that his library would make "a most admirable substratum for a National Library," thus expressing a new cultural nationalism being felt in the United States. Many Americans, aware of the cultural dependence of the United States on Europe, were anxious that their country establish traditions and institutions of its own. A pronational library article in the Petersburg *Courier*, reprinted in the Washington *National Intelligencer*, expressed one aspect of this national pride:

The objections made by the Federal members of Congress to the purchase of Mr. Jefferson's library are certainly not only extraordinary and illiberal, but reflect the greatest discredit upon the national character of this country. What can be a greater stigma upon the members of our National Legislature than to assert that books of a philosophical description are improper for their perusal?⁵

Two years later, another *National Intelligencer* article dealt with the same theme, only this one was written by the new Librarian of Congress, George Watterston. Appointed by President Madison in 1815, Watterston was the first Librarian of Congress who did not also serve as Clerk of the House of Representatives. In early 1817, the Joint Library Committee sponsored a resolution calling for a separate Library of Con-

gress building, but the measure was defeated by the House Committee of the Whole. Watterston was disappointed and pointed out that in other countries similar institutions were objects of national pride and that "edifices are erected for the accommodation of national libraries." He felt that the United States should have a library building "equal in grandeur to the wealth, the taste, and the science of the nation."⁶

Librarian Watterston's plea for a separate building went unheeded, but during the next decades the Library continued to expand its collections and its clientele. A separate \$2,000 annual appropriation for the purchase of books was initiated in 1820 and then was increased to \$5,000 in 1824. On January 13, 1830, a joint resolution granted use of the books to "the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Navy, the Postmaster General, the Secretary of the Senate, the Clerk of the House of Representatives, the chaplains of Congress, and ex-Presidents (when in the District of Columbia)." The extension of the Library's collection beyond that needed by a legislative library was tacitly acknowledged by an act of Congress in 1832 that established a separate "apartment" for the law books within the Library of Congress.

Despite such developments, in the minds of individual Congressmen the Library remained essentially a legislative library. In the middle decades of the 19th century, Library Committee chairmen took a passive view toward the Library, an attitude shared by the efficient Librarian of Congress from 1829 to 1861, John Silva Meehan. The bookmen and intellectuals who served on the Library Committee during this period, men such as Benjamin Tappan, George Perkins Marsh, and Rufus Choate, were nationalists who favored the creation of an American national library; however, they never viewed the Library of Congress as that library. For example, in 1845 Senator Choate argued in favor of establishing a national library at the Washington institution soon to be created in accordance with the provisions of the will of James Smithson. Choate wanted to use the Smithson bequest for a national library because he felt that the small annual appropriation granted the Library of Congress would never enable it "to fulfill the functions of a truly great and general public library of science, literature, and art."⁷



In the early 1850's it appeared that the Smithsonian Institution might become the American national library. Its talented and aggressive librarian, Charles Coffin Jewett, tried to move the institution in that direction and turn it into a national bibliographical center as well. Jewett's efforts were opposed, however, by Smithsonian Secretary Joseph Henry, who insisted that the Smithsonian focus its activities on scientific research and publication. In fact, the Secretary favored the eventual development of a national library at the Library of Congress, which he viewed as the appropriate foundation for "a collection of books worthy of a Government whose perpetuity principally depends on the intelligence of the people." On July 10, 1854, Henry dismissed Jewett, ending any possibility that the Smithsonian might become the national library. Moreover, 12 years later Henry was to transfer the entire 40,000-volume library of the Smithsonian Institution to the Library of Congress.

In all, the Library of Congress suffered difficult times during the 1850's. In the first place, the growing intersectional rivalry between North and South was not conducive to the strengthening or enlargement of any government institu-

tion, especially in a "national" direction. Furthermore, in late 1851 the most serious fire in the Library's history destroyed about two-thirds of its 55,000 volumes, including two-thirds of Jefferson's library. Congress responded quickly and generously: in 1852 a total of \$168,700 was appropriated to restore the Library's rooms in the Capitol and to replace the lost books. But the books were to be replaced only, with no particular intention of supplementing or expanding the collection. This policy reflected the conservative philosophy of Senator James A. Pearce of Maryland, the chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library, who favored keeping a strict limit on the Library's activities. In fact, a few years later, the Library lost two of its most important governmental functions. On January 28, 1857, a joint resolution transferred responsibility for the distribution of public documents to the Bureau of the Interior, and responsibility for the international exchange of books and documents on behalf of the U.S. government was shifted to the Department of State. Back in 1846, when the Smithsonian Institution was founded, both the Smithsonian and the Library of Congress were designated repositories for U.S. copyright de-

The Annex Building of the Library of Congress in 1938 as it nears completion, eight years after its original authorization. With its capacity of 10 million volumes, the Annex was intended to serve primarily as a giant bookstack. It is directly east of the Main Building. This photograph, taken from the roof of the Supreme Court Building, includes the Folger Shakespeare Library on the left.

posits. On February 5, 1859, with the consent of Library officials, this law was repealed.

Two years later, a new President replaced Librarian Meehan. President Lincoln's choice was John G. Stephenson, an Indiana physician who served as Librarian of Congress until the end of 1864. As the Civil War came to a close, the Library had a total staff of seven and a mediocre collection of only 80,000 volumes; nonetheless the "national character" of its origins and first 64 years was indisputable.

The Development of Collections and Services

The individual responsible for transforming the Library of Congress into an institution of national significance was Ainsworth Rand Spofford, a former Cincinnati bookseller and journalist who served as Librarian of Congress from 1865 until 1897. Spofford accomplished this task by permanently linking the legislative and national functions of the Library, first in practice and then, through the 1897 reorganization of the Library, in law. Spofford's notion of the Library of Congress as both the legislative library for the American Congress and the national library for the American people was wholeheartedly accepted by his successor, John Russell Young, Librarian of Congress from 1897 to 1899. This basic concept was not only endorsed but also considerably expanded by Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress from 1899 to 1939, who initiated the national services that established the Library of Congress as a truly modern national library. Librarians of Congress since Putnam, Archibald MacLeish (1939-44), Luther H. Evans (1945-53), and L. Quincy Mumford (1954-74), have also maintained that the Library is both a legislative and a national library: that service to Congress has the first priority, but that service to the Library's other national constituencies must also meet the highest standards. Since 1865 the Library's collections have increased at a remarkable pace, and services to

Congress and the rest of the nation have expanded accordingly. The growth of the Library also reflects the institution's deep roots in the political and cultural development of the nation. As historian Ralph Gabriel has observed, "the story of the rise of the Library of Congress epitomizes, in a sense, the evolution of American intellectual life."⁸

Spofford revived the idea of an American national library, which had been languishing since Jewett's departure from the Smithsonian in 1854, and successfully convinced first the Library Committee and then Congress itself that the Library of Congress should be that national library. His principal achievements were the development of comprehensive collections of Americana, which incidentally resulted in the Library's becoming the largest library in the United States only three years after Spofford took office, and the construction of a separate Library building, a 26-year struggle not completed until the new building was occupied in 1897. That building, located just across the east plaza from the Capitol, was itself a national monument and a noted national achievement; it was the "largest, costliest, and safest" library structure in the world.

Ainsworth Spofford always believed that the Library of Congress was the national library, that by virtue of its establishment in Washington in 1800 it belonged to the American Congress and to the people they represented. His particular view of the proper function of a national library was patterned after the European model; essentially, a national library was a comprehensive accumulation of "the intellectual product of the country in every field of science and literature." Congress had need of such a collection because, as Spofford paraphrased Jefferson, "there is almost no work, within the vast range of literature and science, which may not at some time prove useful to the legislature of a great nation." It was imperative, he felt, that such a great national collection be shared with all citizens, for the United States was "a Republic which rests upon the popular intelligence."⁹

Immediately after the Civil War, American society itself began a rapid transformation: industrialization and an expanding federal government that took on many new functions were but two of the changes. The net result was a new nationalism, and Spofford vigorously took full



Washington July 28th 1867

Cal Peter Force,

My dear Sir:

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Joint Committee on the Library have this morning agreed to recommend to Congress the purchase of your Library, at \$100,000 and have instructed me to print my report. The vote was unanimous.

With high regard

Your obedient

A R Spofford

Librarian

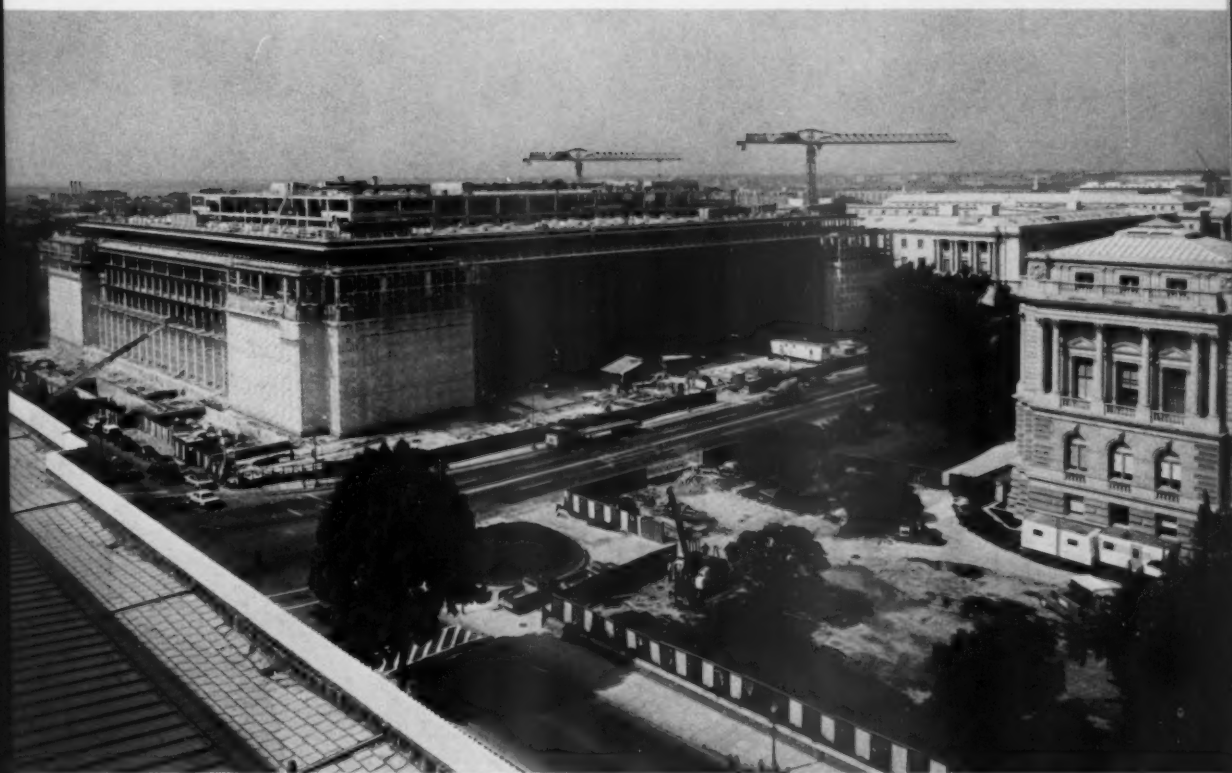
The private library of Peter Force, purchased for \$100,000 in 1867, is the foundation of the Library's Americana and incunabula collections. In this letter of January 26, 1867, Librarian of Congress Ainsworth R. Spofford informs Mr. Force that the purchase has been recommended. As indicated by the stationery, the Library at the time was located in the U.S. Capitol building.

advantage of this increasing national confidence in promoting the Library's expansion. For example, he blatantly appealed to national pride: "in every country where civilization has attained a high rank there should be at least one great library." In January 1867 he prepared a report for the Joint Committee concerning Peter Force's unparalleled private library of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and maps relating to America. Noting that "the largest and most complete collection of books relating to America in the world is now gathered on the shelves of the British Museum," he challenged Congress to "repair this deficiency" by appropriating \$100,000 to purchase Force's library. Two months later Congress complied, and the Library had acquired the foundation of its Americana and incunabula collections.

Spofford's most impressive collection-building feat, and certainly the one that had the most far-

reaching significance for the Library, was the centralization of all U.S. copyright deposit and registration activities at the Library in 1870. The copyright law ensured the continuing development of the Americana collections, for it stipulated that two copies of every book, pamphlet, map, print, and piece of music registered for copyright in the United States be deposited in the Library. This act also eventually forced the construction of a separate Library building, for by 1875 all shelf space was exhausted and the books, "from sheer force of necessity," were being "piled on the floor in all directions."

In the long struggle for a separate Library building, Spofford enlisted the support of many powerful public figures: Congressmen, cultural leaders, journalists, and even Presidents. Moreover, their speeches and statements usually endorsed not only a separate building but also the concept of the Library of Congress as a national



library. For example, in his annual message to Congress on December 2, 1879, President Rutherford B. Hayes observed:

As this library is national in character and must from the nature of the case increase even more rapidly in the future, than in the past, it cannot be doubted that the people will sanction any wise expenditure to preserve it and to enlarge its usefulness.

In a similar manner, on December 12, 1882, Speaker of the House of Representatives Thomas B. Reed informed Congress: "This nation has become great enough to meet the expectations of this people. Among these expectations is the establishment of a library large enough for the needs of the whole of this great nation."¹⁰

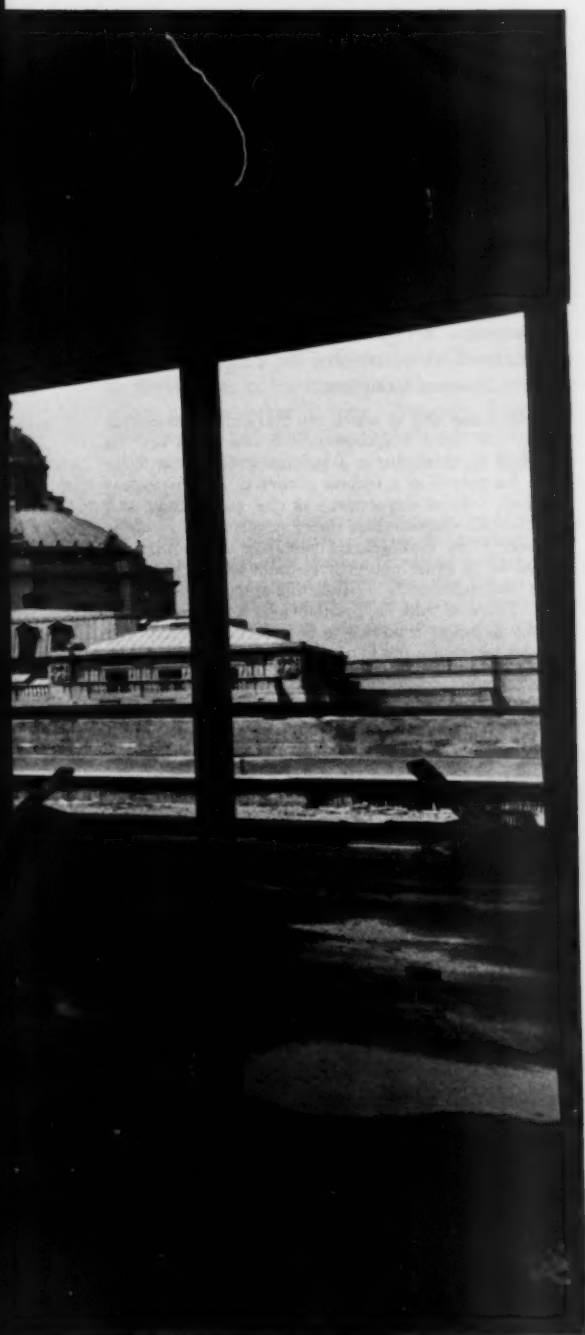
To Spofford must also go primary credit for establishing the Library's tradition of broad public service. In 1865 he extended the hours of service, so that the Library was open every weekday all year. In 1869 he began advocating eve-

An August 1974 view of the James Madison Memorial Building as seen from the roof of the Annex. Authorized in 1965, the Madison Building is expected to be ready for occupancy in 1978. It is connected by tunnels to the Main Building and Annex of the Library and to the Cannon House Office Building. Photograph courtesy the Office of the Architect of the Capitol.

ning hours of opening, but this innovation was not approved by Congress until 1898. Finally, in 1870 Spofford reinstated the earlier policy of lending books directly to the public if an appropriate sum was left on deposit, a procedure that remained in effect until 1894, when preparations were started for the move into the new Library building.

In 1896, just before the actual move, the Joint Library Committee held hearings about "the condition" of the Library and its possible reorganization. The hearings provided an occasion for a detailed examination of the Library's history and





present functions, furnished by Librarian Spofford, as well as for a review of what new functions the Library might perform once it occupied the spacious new building. The American Library Association sent six witnesses, including future Librarian of Congress Herbert Putnam from the Boston Public Library and Melvil Dewey from the New York State Library. Congressmen listened with great interest to the testimony of Putnam and Dewey, who argued that the national services of the Library should be greatly expanded. Dewey felt that the Library of Congress now had the opportunity to act as a true national library, which he defined as "a center to which the libraries of the whole country can turn for inspiration, guidance, and practical help, which can be rendered so economically and efficiently in no other possible way."¹¹

Testimony at the 1896 hearings greatly influenced the reorganization of the Library, which was incorporated into the Legislative Appropriations Act approved February 19, 1897, and became effective on July 1, 1897. In accordance with the recommendations of Spofford, Putnam, Dewey, and the other officials who testified, all phases of the Library's activities were expanded. The size of the staff was increased from 42 to 108, and separate administrative units for copyright, law, cataloging, periodicals, maps, manuscripts, music, and graphic arts were established. During his 32 years in office, and with the consent of the Joint Library Committee, Librarian Spofford had assumed full responsibility for directing the Library's affairs. This authority formally passed to the office of Librarian of Congress in the 1897 reorganization, for the Librarian explicitly was assigned sole responsibility for making the "rules and regulations for the government" of the Library. The same reorganization act stipulated that the President's appointment of a Librarian of Congress thereafter was to be approved by the Senate.¹²

President McKinley appointed a new Librarian of Congress to supervise the move from the Capitol and implement the new reorganization. He was John Russell Young, who held office

Construction workers on the top floor of the Madison Building, August 1974. The Library of Congress Main Building is directly across Independence Avenue and the dome of the U.S. Capitol can be seen at the far left. Photograph by Christopher Wright.

from July 1, 1897, until his death on January 17, 1899. A journalist and former diplomat, Young was a skilled administrator who worked hard to strengthen both the comprehensiveness of the collections and the scope of the services provided to Congress. In February 1898, for example, he sent a letter to U.S. diplomatic and consular representatives throughout the world, asking them to send "to the national library" newspapers, serials, pamphlets, manuscripts, broadsides, "documents illustrative of the history of those various nationalities now coming to our shores to blend into our national life," and many other categories of research materials, broadly summarized as "whatever, in a word, would add to the sum of human knowledge." By the end of 1898, books and documents had arrived from 11 legations and seven consulates. In his annual report for the same year, Young casually mentioned two developments that, in fact, were of great significance: the start of the reclassification of the Library's collections and the compilation of bibliographies specifically for the use of Congress. He pointed out that the new series of bibliographic bulletins was intended to "anticipate the wants of Congress upon the subjects of legislation and hold the resources of the Library ever at the command of those for whom it was founded." The principal bibliographies were separate lists of books relating to the Philippines, Cuba, Nicaragua, Hawaii, and Alaska.¹³

Young also inaugurated what today is one of the Library's best known national activities, library service for the blind. In November of 1897 the Library began a program of daily readings for the blind in a special "pavilion for the blind" complete with its own library. In 1913 Congress directed the American Printing House for the Blind to begin depositing embossed books in the Library, and in 1931 a separate appropriation was authorized for providing "books for the use of adult blind residents of the United States."

Young's successor, Herbert Putnam, served as Librarian of Congress for 40 years, from 1899 to 1939. The first experienced professional librarian to hold the post, Putnam was able to establish a working partnership between the Library of Congress and the American library movement. In fact, three years after Putnam had taken office, the Library of Congress was the leader among American libraries. This turn of events was in

accord with Putnam's view of the proper role of a national library, a view expressed at the 1896 hearings concerning the Library of Congress. Rather than serving primarily as a great national accumulation of books, a national library should, he felt, actively serve other libraries. Building upon the tradition created by Spofford, Putnam established a systematic program of widespread service, the full dimensions of which were outlined in a July 1901 speech at the annual meeting of the American Library Association—an organization which had played a major role in his appointment as Librarian. In the speech, he summarized his opinion of the proper functions of the Library of Congress:

If there is any way in which our National Library may "reach out" from Washington it should reach out. Its first duty is, no doubt, as a legislative library, to Congress. Its next is as a federal library to aid the executive and judicial department of the government and the scientific undertakings under government auspices. Its next is to that general research which may be carried on at Washington by resident and visiting students and scholars. . . . But this should not be the limit. There should be possible also a service to the country at large: a service to be extended through the libraries which are the local centers of research involving the use of books.¹⁴

In the quarter century before Putnam took office, a new structure of scientific and scholarly activity had evolved in the United States. Professional schools and new universities offering graduate work were established; numerous professional associations and societies came into existence; and the federal government became an active supporter of education, research, and scientific activity. By 1900, as Arthur Bestor has pointed out, the age of the great library had arrived in America; its characteristics included huge bookstacks, scientific cataloging and classification, and full-time professional staffs.¹⁵ By 1901 the Library of Congress, the first American library to reach one million volumes, was itself part of the new pattern of American intellectual activity.

Putnam's actions in 1901 were imaginative and decisive and were approved by both the Joint Library Committee and the professional library community. In that year the first volume of a completely new classification scheme, based on the Library's own collections, was published; access to the Library was extended to "scientific

investigators and duly qualified individuals" throughout the United States; an interlibrary loan service was inaugurated; the sale and distribution of Library of Congress printed catalog cards began; the equivalent of a national union catalog was started; and finally, appended to the 1901 annual report was a 200-page manual describing the organization, facilities, collections, and operations of the Library—a description that set high standards for all other libraries.

Already respected as a library expert, Putnam further enhanced his congressional support through appeals to national pride and idealism. Moreover, like Spofford, he also enlisted the aid of Presidents. In his first annual message to Congress, on December 3, 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt called the Library of Congress "the one national library of the United States." He then continued:

Already the largest single collection of books on the Western Hemisphere, and certain to increase more rapidly than any other through purchase, exchange, and the operation of the copyright law, this library has a unique opportunity to render to the libraries of this country—to American scholarship—service of the highest importance.³⁰

President Roosevelt supported Putnam by deed as well. On March 9, 1903, for example, he approved an executive order that directed the transfer of the records and papers of the Continental Congress and the personal papers of Washington, Madison, Monroe, Hamilton, and Franklin from the State Department to the Library of Congress.

The progressive era was the age of efficiency experts and the scientific use of knowledge, and the establishment of a separate legislative reference service at the Library of Congress was a direct result of the progressive movement. Specialized library units for legislative research came into existence in various states, notably Wisconsin, during the early 1900's. By the second decade of the century, the legislative reference movement had reached the national legislature. Before 1911, Putnam maintained that since the Library's principal purpose was service to Congress, a separate administrative unit was unnecessary. On April 6, 1911, however, in a special report on the establishment of legislative reference bureaus, Putnam changed his position and—in typical fashion—took the initiative. After outlining the specific services that a truly scientific and non-partisan legislative reference unit could provide,

he noted that the Library of Congress unfortunately could not undertake such an effort without "an enlargement of its present Divisions of Law, Documents, and Bibliography, and in addition the creation of a new division under the title of a Legislative or Congressional Reference Division."³¹

In February 1912, the House Committee on the Library held hearings to consider various bills before Congress proposing the establishment of a legislative reference bureau. A year later, when the Senate held similar hearings, there was general agreement that such a unit would be established within the Library of Congress. Putnam explained that:

What we do not do, and what a legislative reference division in the Library would do, is to select out of this great collection—now 2,000,000 books and pamphlets—the material that may bear upon one or another of the topics under consideration by Congress or that are likely to be under consideration, or that come up under particular discussions; extracting, digesting, and concentrating material that will bear upon those questions to be set aside, available to Congress or to the individual Member of Congress or a committee of Congress. It requires duplication of material; it requires an approach to the material from a different direction from that which we now approach it.³²

The establishment of a separate Legislative Reference Service within the Library of Congress was authorized with a small appropriation in 1914. In 1915 the functions of the new service were broadened in accordance with new language in the appropriations act: "to gather, classify, and make available in translations, indexes, digests, compilations, and bulletins, and otherwise, data for or bearing upon legislation, and to render such data available to Congress and committees and Members thereof." That year Librarian Putnam reported that the new unit was anticipating questions from Congress concerning the following subjects: "the conservation bills, so-called," the merchant marine, the government of the Philippines, immigration, convict-made goods, railroad securities, federal aid in roadmaking, publicity in campaign contributions, and a national budget system.³³

The establishment of a separate appropriation and administrative unit for legislative reference could be viewed as an indirect acknowledgment of the broad range of national services offered by the Library, insofar that the Congress was forced to create a new organizational unit to respond to



The original House of Representatives Reading Room in the Main Building of the Library of Congress.

its own specialized requirements. However, as Putnam stated in 1913, the legislative reference function was actually a new *research* service not previously provided. Furthermore, the Library's other administrative units continued to give congressional requests priority.

During the next two decades, Putnam continued to expand the Library's national roles, primarily through: 1) establishment of the Library of Congress Trust Fund Board (1925), which enabled the Library to accept, hold, and invest gifts and bequests; 2) further development of the Library as a center for research and scholarship, largely through the creation of a series of chairs and consultantships for subject specialists; 3) the evolution of the Library as a national patron of the arts through generous endowments enabling it to promote chamber music; and 4) enhancement of the Library as a symbol of American democracy, a function that received widespread publicity when the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were transferred to the Library in 1921.

It was the role of the Library in American

democracy and as a repository of American cultural tradition that captured the imagination of Putnam's successor, writer and poet Archibald MacLeish. Appointed by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1939, MacLeish served as Librarian of Congress until the end of 1944, when he resigned to become assistant secretary of state. Viewing the Library as a "fortress of freedom," the Librarian involved the institution and its resources in the war effort on a daily basis.

In his 1940 annual report, MacLeish eloquently described the dual nature of the Library:

By creation and primary responsibility, [it is] the library of the elected representatives of the people of the United States. But Congress long ago extended the use of its library to other officers and offices of the federal government and to the people themselves, placing at the disposition of the users not only the rich collections with which the Library was in time provided, but the skilled services of the scholars, the technicians, and the experts in various fields whose first duty was to make the collections serviceable to Congress.

During Putnam's 40-year term of office, new functions and services simply had been appended to the institution's administrative structure. Mac-



The Library of Congress was custodian of the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution from 1921 until 1952, when the documents were transferred to the National Archives. In this September 1944 photograph the Declaration of Independence, recently returned from wartime safekeeping at Fort Knox, is examined by, from left to right, David C. Mearns, Archibald MacLeish, and the late Verner W. Clapp, who were at the time, respectively, director of the Reference Department, Librarian of Congress, and director of the Acquisitions Department.



On May 17, 1950, President Harry S. Truman delivered an address in the Coolidge Auditorium in a program marking the publication by Princeton University Press of the first volume of The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, edited by Julian P. Boyd. The program was part of the Library's commemoration of the

150th anniversary of its founding. Pictured from left to right are Verner W. Clapp, then Chief Assistant Librarian, President Truman, Gen. George C. Marshall, and Harold W. Dodds, President of Princeton University.

Leish's most significant contribution to the Library was a complete administrative reorganization. With the aid of staff committees and outside advisers from the library community, MacLeish eventually divided the staff of over 1,000 persons into functional departments: the Administrative Department, the Law Library, the Copyright Office, the Processing Department, and a Reference Department that included the Legislative Reference Service. Moreover, for the first time in the history of the institution, explicit statements of the Library's objectives were developed.²⁰

MacLeish's statement of the Library's objectives, also in his 1940 annual report, was divided into two sections: objectives "with regard to the character of the collections," termed "Canons of Selection," and objectives of the Library viewed "as an agency of research and reference work." The statements incorporated earlier practices and did not present any new concepts. Nevertheless, they are worth reviewing, not only because they are the first concise definition of the Library's various purposes, but also because they clearly reflect the priority accorded Congress by its Library. The Canons of Selection were:

1. The Library of Congress should possess in some useful form all bibliothecal materials necessary to the Congress and to the officers of government of the United States in the performance of their duties.
2. The Library of Congress should possess all books and other materials (whether in original or copy) which express and record the life and achievements of the people of the United States.
3. The Library of Congress should possess, in some useful form, the material parts of the records of other societies, past and present, and should accumulate, in original or in copy, full and representative collections of the written records of those societies and peoples whose experience is of most immediate concern to the people of the United States.

Because of the rapid expansion of the Library's overseas acquisitions programs and its foreign language collections since World War II, the Canons of Selection have been somewhat superseded, particularly the last one. However, the reference and research objectives are less outdated:

1. The Library of Congress undertakes for Members of the Congress any and all research and reference projects bearing upon the Library's collections and required by Members in connection with the performance of their legislative duties.

2. The Library of Congress undertakes for officers and departments of government [those] research projects, appropriate to the Library, which can be executed by reference to its collections, and which the staffs of offices and departments are unable to undertake.

3. The reference staff and facilities of the Library of Congress are available to members of the public, universities, learned societies and other libraries requiring services which the Library staff is equipped to give and which can be given without interference with services to the Congress and other agencies of the Federal Government.

It should be noted that MacLeish interpreted the third research objective broadly, considering the Library of Congress to be the "reference library of the people."

The question of the objectives of the Library of Congress dominated the administration of MacLeish's successor, Luther H. Evans. Evans, a political scientist, had served as MacLeish's chief assistant for several years and played an important role in planning the reorganization. Nominated by President Truman, Evans took office as Librarian in mid-1945 and immediately began assessing the Library's functions and goals. He described the need for such an assessment in his 1946 annual report:

Of all the circumstances which were present when I assumed the librarianship, one was paramount: the knowledge that henceforth we would live and work in a new world. And for me and for my associates it meant that we must revise and rebuild and reconstitute the Library to resolve for its own part and within the terms of its own duties, the problems which this new world would encounter.

The result of Evans' appraisal was a detailed plan for a major expansion of all phases of the Library's activities and calling for nearly a 100 percent increase in the Library's budget. The Librarian bluntly termed the document, which was issued as *Justification of the Estimates of Appropriations Requested by the Library of Congress for Fiscal Year 1947*, "the most important state paper to issue from the Library since the Report of the Committee on Library Organization in 1802" and reproduced it in the 1946 annual report. However, the House of Representatives Appropriations Committee did not approve of the document or significant portions of its contents, maintaining that "the kind of Library of Congress proposed by the estimates had not been endorsed in clear policy terms by Congress itself." More-

over, the dual role of the Library was seriously questioned in the committee report:

If it is the desire to build and maintain the largest library in the world which, according to testimony, the Library of Congress is at present, that is one matter, and if it should be the policy to maintain a library primarily for the service of Congress, it is quite another matter from the standpoint of fiscal needs.

Instead of the \$9,756,852 requested by Librarian Evans, the Congress granted the Library \$6,069,967.²¹

The congressional reduction in the Library's budget estimates put the Library of Congress on the defensive. As a result, considerable effort was spent during the Evans years in explaining and justifying the Library's manifold activities. *The Story Up to Now*, David C. Mearns' brief but delightful history of the Library up to 1946, is one example. A Library of Congress Planning Committee was created "to consider what should be the functions of the Library and to prepare a report on them." The committee, chaired by Keyes D. Metcalf, director of libraries at Harvard, painstakingly reviewed the Library's policies, emphasizing its relationships with Congress and with its other users. The Planning Committee report, published in the Librarian's 1947 *Annual Report*, strongly urged the expansion of the Library's national role. The committee maintained that "the library needs of the Congress and of the other agencies of the Federal Government and of the country at large will be served by further strengthening this institution."

In spite of such recommendations, the Library's appropriation grew comparatively slowly during the Evans administration, increasing from approximately \$6 million in 1947 to \$9 million in 1953. Although Evans never was able to expand the Library in the style or at the pace he felt appropriate, many significant developments did take place. For example, he initiated several imaginative foreign acquisitions and microfilming programs, all emphasizing cooperation with other institutions. He emphasized "bibliographical control"; in fact, according to Verner W. Clapp, Evans actually invented the phrase.²² One result of his concern was the inauguration of a number of important Library of Congress printed book catalogs and similar bibliographic publications. Finally, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 was a significant milestone in strengthen-

ing the Library's direct services to Congress. Section 203 of the act authorized and directed the Librarian of Congress to establish the Legislative Reference Service as a separate department within the Library and specifically described the duties of the Service. All aspects of the Service's activities were expanded, and increased appropriations were authorized, along with the employment of nationally eminent specialists in 19 subject fields.

Librarian Evans resigned in 1953 to become director general of Unesco. His successor, appointed by President Eisenhower, was L. Quincy Mumford, Librarian of the Cleveland Public Library and the first graduate of a professional library science school to hold the job. Mumford took office in 1954 and proceeded to guide the Library of Congress through the greatest expansion period in its history. Both legislative and national services were strengthened, and particularly national services to the library community. Mumford always moved cautiously in his relations with Congress, respecting a statement of the House of Representatives Appropriations Committee in May 1954:

The new Librarian should be mindful that the Library is the instrument and the creature of Congress. Its duties historically have been to meet the needs of the Members of Congress first and to limit its services to others to that which can be furnished with the funds and the staff available.

Mumford later described this "strong language" as representing "only temporary dissatisfaction rather than fixed policy" on the part of the Appropriations Committee. For example, three years later, Committee Chairman Clarence Cannon defended the budget of the Library by referring to it as "the greatest library in the world . . . the visible, irrefutable evidence of the academic and intellectual achievement of the American people."²³

The first years of the Mumford administration were primarily years of consolidation. He deliberately concentrated on strengthening the Library's own collections and services "because so central is the Library of Congress to the library economy and research efforts of the country that, to the extent that the institution is weak, the whole fabric of library service is weak." But even the gradual expansion of the Library increased its space problems and in 1958, with the book collection of

the Library numbering over 11 million volumes, an intensive study of the requirements for a third major Library building was begun. The James Madison Memorial Building, located across Independence Avenue from the main Library building, was authorized in 1965 and construction was started in 1971.

Debate about the Library's legislative and national functions continued into the Mumford administration. In 1959 the Brookings Institution sponsored a survey of federal departmental libraries; the director of the survey was former Librarian of Congress Luther H. Evans, who also prepared the final report. A principal recommendation of the Brookings study was that the Library of Congress be transferred to the executive branch of government, a conclusion strongly disputed by Librarian Mumford.²⁴ In 1962, at the request of Senator Claiborne Pell of the Joint Library Committee, Douglas W. Bryant of the Harvard University Library prepared a memorandum on "what the Library of Congress does and ought to do for the Government and the Nation generally." Bryant urged further expansion of the Library's national activities and services; many of his proposals, in fact, paralleled those made by the Library of Congress Planning Committee in 1947. Mumford replied to the Bryant memorandum in his 1962 annual report, strongly defending the Library's position in the legislative branch and reiterating his opposition to changing or altering the Library's name to reflect its national role: "The Library of Congress is a venerable institution, with a proud history, and to change its name would do unspeakable violence to tradition." The Librarian asserted that "on the question of being the national library the substance is more important than the form," and pointed out that, while fulfilling its responsibilities to the legislature, the Library of Congress also performed "more national library functions than any other national library in the world."²⁵

A major development during the Mumford administration was the expansion of the Library's overseas acquisitions and cataloging programs. During World War II, serious weaknesses were discovered in the Library's foreign area and foreign language collections. One corrective measure was the initiation, during the postwar



The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 greatly expanded the role and responsibilities of the Congressional Research Service. One new CRS service was the establishment of Reference Centers in House of Representatives and Senate office buildings. This photograph shows a Senate staff member using CRS computer services in the Senate Reference Center.

RIGHT: *The National Program for Acquisitions and Cataloging, a responsibility entrusted to the Library of Congress by Title II-C of the Higher Education Act of 1965, dramatically expanded the Library's overseas operations. In this 1966 photograph, Jerry R. James, field director in charge of acquisitions in East Africa, travels in a gharry to visit government offices in Asmara, Ethiopia.*

years, of several cooperative foreign acquisitions programs. The Cold War and then the area studies movement increased demands from government and from scholars for additional foreign research materials. In 1958 the Library of Congress was authorized to acquire books by using U.S.-owned foreign currency under terms of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (Public Law 480). The first appropriation for this purpose was made in 1961, enabling the Library to establish acquisitions centers in New Delhi and Cairo to purchase publications and distribute them to research libraries throughout the United States. In 1965, Title II-C of the Higher Education Act authorized the establishment of the National Program for Acquisitions and Cataloging (NPAC), greatly expanding the Library's foreign procurement program and inaugurating, for use by American



research libraries, a centralized cataloging system for foreign acquisitions.

Other expansions of the Library's national role included: new automation efforts, particularly the beginning of the MARC (Machine-Readable Cataloging) system for distribution of cataloging information in machine-readable form; inauguration of a preservation program intended to serve as the basis of a national preservation effort; and new cooperative arrangements with the National Library of Medicine, the National Agricultural Library, and the federal library community.

With regard to the functions of the Library of Congress, however, the most significant development during the Mumford administration will probably prove to be the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970. For this measure, which redesignated the Legislative Reference Service as the Congressional Research Service, clearly articulated a new relationship between the legislative and national functions of the Library of Congress. The new law stipulated that:

(1) the Librarian of Congress shall, in every pos-

sible way, encourage, assist, and promote the Congressional Research Service in—

- (A) rendering to Congress the most effective and efficient service,
- (B) responding most expeditiously, effectively, and efficiently to the special needs of Congress, and
- (C) discharging its responsibilities to Congress;

and

(2) the Librarian of Congress shall grant and accord to the Congressional Research Service complete research independence and the maximum practicable administrative independence consistent with these objectives.

In addition to ensuring the priority of the needs of Congress within the Library's administrative structure, the act broadened the responsibilities of the Congressional Research Service and provided for enlarged research capabilities. The accompanying report of the House Committee on Rules, for example, stated that CRS was expected to triple its staff by 1975.²⁰

Conclusions

It is obvious from this historical summary that the legislative and national functions of the

Library of Congress are truly "dual" only in the sense that direct services to Congress receive priority. In all other respects, the legislative and national functions are each inherent parts of the Library's basic fabric. For the Library of Congress, primarily because of the unique circumstances of its origin and early development, is a product of American nationalism—and that nationalism is the unifying force between Congress, the Library, and the nation. The history of the Library of Congress is inseparable from the growth of the national spirit and pride in the American nation. This is why the Library of Congress has never been the exclusive property of Congress. The dual nature of the Library—its responsibility to both Congress and the nation at large—is the institution's greatest strength and not, as some have claimed, its greatest weakness. The diversity of its functions has involved it so pervasively in the national life that today the Library of Congress is a national cultural symbol that draws its support from all segments of American society.

In his remarks at a 1950 banquet honoring the Library's sesquicentennial, Librarian Emeritus Herbert Putnam pointed out that the unique governmental position of the Library of Congress had precluded the necessity for a constitution or written charter—a condition which Putnam had always viewed as a great advantage. In this sense, direct congressional control gave the Library a flexibility it might not otherwise enjoy:

[The Library's] authority, its enabling authority, depends on the appropriation bills, that is to say, on grants from Congress in aid of what it proposes to do. But it's always a proposal to do something. The grant isn't a definition of function, nor any evidence that Congress meant to define the function of the Library, or put a limit such as would be put in the case of a Constitution for the Library. Congress itself proceeds under a Constitution, and except so far as the Library is an implement for its own family service, domestic service, what it enables the Library to do is authorized by the Constitution under the clause of "General Welfare."²⁷

Librarian Mumford has observed, accurately, that Congress "has recognized the national responsibilities of the Library in a way that matters most—with understanding and consistent support."²⁸ The normal pattern has been for the Library to grow in stages, often with legislative and national functions alternating in emphasis. Naturally there also have been periods of re-



In 1964 the Library of Congress and the American Library Association agreed to make arrangements for the publication of the pre-1956 portion of the National Union Catalog. In 1967 Mansell Information/Publishing Ltd., under terms of a contract with the ALA, undertook this massive publishing project—which would result in the largest book catalog ever published. The first five volumes were published in late 1968, when this photograph was taken. Examining the volumes are (left to right): John Commander, of Mansell Information/Publishing Ltd.; Gordon Williams, director of the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago and chairman of the ALA subcommittee on the National Union Catalog; L. Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress; and Johannes L. Dewton, editor of the Pre-1956 Imprints catalog.

trenchment, but on the whole the expansion of the institution has been remarkably steady. On occasion, congressional committees have been unhappy with the Library, but the ultimate response on the part of the Library is usually a reemphasis on direct services to Congress that produces satisfactory results. Concurrently, Congress frequently has taken a direct interest in national services performed by the Library for the constituencies served by both institutions—the general public, the library community, scholars, and federal agencies. In fact, many of the Library's new programs in recent years have originated not with the Library but with requests

to Congress from academic and library groups such as the Association of Research Libraries and the American Library Association.

The conservative approach of the Library, particularly its reluctance to initiate new programs without specific authorization from Congress, has frequently drawn criticism from "national library" advocates. On the other side, it can be pointed out that since there is no single, precise definition of a "national library," the Library of Congress finds itself in the difficult position of performing national services for a variety of clientele, each with its own idea of what the Library should be doing for it.

Generally speaking, the major barrier to the expansion and improvement of the Library's collections and services has been lack of space, not lack of congressional support. The major periods of the Library's growth have occurred during the administrations of three Librarians of Congress: Spofford, Putnam, and Mumford. Each eventually succeeded in obtaining approval for a major Library building: the Main Building was authorized in 1886, the Annex in 1930, and the James Madison Memorial Building in 1965. Unfortunately, while waiting for construction to be completed, these three "expansionist" Librarians were forced to endure badly crowded conditions that curtailed services and brought criticism from users. It is worth noting that all three of these men enjoyed excellent relations with Congress.

Since 1865, when the "modern" history of the Library began, there has been a period of con-

solidation and reorganization after each major period of growth. In this sense, the immediate successors of Spofford and Putnam, Librarians John Russell Young (1897-99), Archibald MacLeish (1939-44), and Luther Evans (1945-53), can be considered the consolidators, for the Library's two principal periods of administrative reorganization were 1897-99 and 1940-46. A further contribution of Evans, who tried to be an expansionist Librarian, was his budget justification document for fiscal year 1947, a blueprint for the Library's future that was offered too soon.

The historical evidence indicates that, after 15 years of rapid expansion, the Library of Congress is headed into another period of reorganization and consolidation—particularly as the occupancy of the James Madison Memorial Building becomes imminent. Another evaluation of the Library's legislative and national functions also appears likely. In fact, with the passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 and the studies undertaken by the National Advisory Commission on Libraries and Information Science (established in 1970), the process already has begun. Historically such periodic analyses have helped reconcile the differences inherent in the Library's varied functions and eventually have led to further growth within the same institutional framework. In the past, at least, the unifying Jeffersonian concept of comprehensiveness and universality—"there is no subject to which a member of Congress may not have occasion to refer"—has prevailed.

NOTES

¹ S. R. Ranganathan, "The Library of Congress Among National Libraries," *ALA Bulletin* 44 (October 1950): 356.

² Allan Nevins, "10 Million Readers, 23 Million Books," *New York Times Magazine*, October 26, 1947, p. 4.

³ Frederick W. Ashley, "Three Eras in the Library of Congress," in *Essays Offered to Herbert Putnam*, ed. William Warner Bishop and Andrew Keogh (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), p. 57.

⁴ Jefferson to Samuel H. Smith, September 21, 1814, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

⁵ *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), October 25, 1814.

⁶ *Ibid.*, March 25, 1817.

⁷ U.S., Congress, *Congressional Globe* 15 (January 8, 1845): 105. For an account of the Smithsonian controversy and the idea of an American national library in the 19th century, see John Y. Cole, "Of Copyright, Men, & a National Library," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 28 (April 1971): 114-36.

⁸ Ralph H. Gabriel, "The Library of Congress and American Scholarship," *ALA Bulletin* 44 (October 1950): 349.

⁹ Spofford's national library philosophy and efforts are outlined in: John Y. Cole, "A National Monument for a National Library; Ainsworth Rand Spofford and the New Library of Congress, 1871-1897," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C., 1971-1972* (Washington: Published by the Society, 1973), pp. 468-507.

²⁰ U.S., Congress, *Congressional Record* 59 (December 12, 1882): 221.

²¹ U.S., Congress, Joint Committee on the Library, *Condition of the Library of Congress; March 3, 1897*, 54th Cong., 2d sess., S. Rept. 1573, p. 142.

²² Since the reorganization became law before its report was published, the Joint Library Committee never recommended a specific reorganization plan.

²³ U.S., Library of Congress, *Report of the Librarian of Congress for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1898* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), pp. 13, 19–22, 83–87.

²⁴ Herbert Putnam, "What May Be Done for Libraries by the Nation," *Library Journal* 26 (August 1901): 10–11. See also David C. Mearns, "Herbert Putnam: Librarian of the United States," in *An American Library History Reader*, comp. John David Marshall (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1961), pp. 362–410.

²⁵ Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., "The Transformation of American Scholarship, 1875–1917," in *Librarians, Scholars, and Booksellers at Mid-Century*, ed. Pierce Butler (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 19.

²⁶ Roosevelt's statement actually was based on information he received in a letter from Putnam. See David C. Mearns, "Herbert Putnam and His Responsible Eye," in U.S., Library of Congress, *Herbert Putnam 1861–1955: A Memorial Tribute* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1956), p. 36.

²⁷ U.S., Senate, Committee on the Library, *Legisla-*

tive Drafting Bureau and Reference Division, 62d Cong., 3d sess., S. Rept. 1271, p. 37.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁹ Herbert Putnam, "Legislative Reference for Congress," *American Political Science Review* 9 (August 1915): 544.

³⁰ See Archibald MacLeish, "The Reorganization of the Library of Congress, 1939–1944," *Library Quarterly* 14 (October 1944): 277–315.

³¹ *LC Annual Report* for 1946, pp. 228–34.

³² Verner W. Clapp, "Luther H. Evans," *Library Journal* 90 (September 1, 1965): 3388.

³³ Quoted in "Report of the Librarian of Congress on the Bryant Memorandum," *LC Annual Report* for 1962, p. 96.

³⁴ Luther H. Evans et al., *Federal Departmental Libraries: A Summary of a Report and a Conference* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1963), pp. 144–47.

³⁵ *LC Annual Report* for 1962, pp. 97–98.

³⁶ U.S., Congress, Joint Library Committee, *Annual Report of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress for Fiscal Year 1971*, 92d Cong., 2d sess., Joint Committee Print, pp. 81–90.

³⁷ Herbert Putnam, "Remarks at the Conclusion of the Banquet Rendered in Behalf of the American Library Association and Associates to the Library of Congress, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, December 12, 1950," typescript, p. 2, Putnam Papers, Library of Congress.

³⁸ *LC Annual Report* for 1962, p. 96.



The Child and the Shadow

by Ursula K. Le Guin

From The Tombs of Atuan. Text copyright © 1971 by Ursula Le Guin. Illustrated by Gail Garraty. Used by permission of Atheneum Publishers.

ONCE upon a time, says Hans Christian Andersen, there was a kind, shy, learned young man from the north, who came south to visit the hot countries, where the sun shines fiercely and all shadows are very black.

Now across the street from the young man's window is a house, where he once glimpses a beautiful girl tending beautiful flowers on the balcony. The young man longs to go speak to her, but he's too shy. One night, while his candle is burning behind him, casting his shadow onto the balcony across the way, he "jokingly" tells his shadow to go ahead, go on into that house. And it does. It enters the house across the street and leaves him.

The young man's a bit surprised, naturally, but he doesn't do anything about it. He presently grows a new shadow and goes back home. And he grows older, and more learned; but he's not a success. He talks about beauty and goodness, but nobody listens to him.

Then one day when he's a middle-aged man, his shadow comes back to him—very thin and rather swarthy, but elegantly dressed. "Did you go into the house across the street?" the man asks him, first thing; and the shadow says, "Oh, yes, certainly." He claims that he saw everything, but he's just boasting. The man knows what to ask. "Were the rooms like the starry sky when one stands on the mountain tops?" he asks, and

all the shadow can say is, "Oh, yes, everything was there." He doesn't know how to answer. He never got in any farther than the anteroom, being, after all, only a shadow. "I should have been annihilated by that flood of light had I penetrated into the room where the maiden lived," he says.

He was, however, good at blackmail and such arts; he is a strong, unscrupulous fellow, and he dominates the man completely. They go traveling, the shadow as master and the man as servant. They meet a princess who suffers "because she sees too clearly." She sees that the shadow casts no shadow and distrusts him, until he explains that the man is really his shadow, which he allows to walk about by itself. A peculiar arrangement, but logical; the princess accepts it. When she and the shadow engage to marry, the man rebels at last. He tries to tell the princess the truth, but the shadow gets there first, with explanations: "The poor fellow is crazy, he thinks he's a man and I'm his shadow!"—"How dreadful," says the princess. A mercy killing is definitely in order. And while the shadow and the princess get married, the man is executed.

Now that is an extraordinarily cruel story. A story about insanity, ending in humiliation and death.

Ursula Le Guin was born in Berkeley, Calif., the daughter of anthropologist Alfred L. Kroeber and Theodora Kroeber. She attended Radcliffe College and earned a master's degree from Columbia University. As a Fulbright fellow, she studied in France in 1952-53. Mrs. Le Guin now resides in Portland, Oreg., with her husband, Charles A. Le Guin, a historian and college teacher, and her three children, Elisabeth, Caroline, and Theodore.

A writer of poetry and science fiction for adults and fantasy for children, Ursula Le Guin has received literary awards both for her children's books and for her writing for adults. Her science fiction works for adults include *The Left Hand of Darkness* (1969), *The Lathe of Heaven* (1971), and *The Dispossessed* (1974). Written for young people, *A Wizard of Earthsea* (1968) was chosen for the *Boston Globe-Horn Book* award the year of its publication. Two science fantasy works for the young followed. *The Tombs of Atuan* in 1971 and *The Farthest Shore* in 1972. In 1973 Mrs. Le Guin received the National Book Award for *The Farthest Shore*.

This article is based on a lecture presented at the Library of Congress in observance of National Children's Book Week on November 11, 1974, under the auspices of the Gertrude Clarke Whittall Poetry and Literature Fund.

Is it a story for children? Yes, it is. It's a story for anybody who's listening.

If you listen, what do you hear?

The house across the street is the House of Beauty, and the maiden is the Muse of Poetry; the shadow tells us that straight out. And that the princess who sees too clearly is pure, cold reason, is plain enough. But who are the man and the shadow? That's not so plain. They aren't allegorical figures. They are symbolic or archetypal figures, like those in a dream. Their significance is multiple, inexhaustible. I can only hint at the little I'm able to see of it.

The man is all that is civilized—learned, kindly, idealistic, decent. The shadow is all that gets suppressed in the process of becoming a decent, civilized adult. The shadow is the man's thwarted selfishness, his unadmitted desires, the swear-words he never spoke, the murders he didn't commit. The shadow is the dark side of his soul, the unadmitted, the inadmissible.

And what Andersen is saying is that this monster is an integral part of the man and cannot be denied—not if the man wants to enter the House of Poetry.

The man's mistake is in not following his shadow. It goes ahead of him, as he sits there at his window, and he cuts it off from himself, telling it, "jokingly," to go on without him. And it does. It goes on into the House of Poetry, the source of all creativity—leaving him outside, on the surface of reality.

So, good and learned as he is, he can't do any good, can't act, because he has cut himself off at the roots. And the shadow is equally helpless; it can't get past the shadowy anteroom to the light. Neither of them, without the other, can approach the truth.

When the shadow returns to the man in middle life, he has a second chance. But he misses it, too. He confronts his dark self at last, but instead of asserting equality or mastery, he lets it master him. He gives in. He does, in fact, become the shadow's shadow, and his fate then is inevitable. The Princess Reason is cruel in having him executed, and yet she is just.

Part of Andersen's cruelty is the cruelty of reason—of psychological realism, radical honesty, the willingness to see and accept the consequences of an act or a failure to act. There is a sadistic, depressive streak in Andersen also, which is his

own shadow; it's there, it's part of him, but not all of him, nor is he ruled by it. His strength, his subtlety, his creative genius, come precisely from his acceptance of and cooperation with the dark side of his own soul. That's why Andersen the fabulist is one of the great realists of literature.

Now I stand here, like the princess herself, and tell you what the story of the shadow means to me at age 45. But what did it mean to me when I first read it, at age 10 or 11? What does it mean to children? Do they "understand" it? Is it "good" for them—this bitter, complex study of a moral failure?

I don't know. I hated it when I was a kid. I hated all the Andersen stories with unhappy endings. That didn't stop me from reading them, and rereading them. Or from remembering them . . . so that after a gap of over 30 years, when I was pondering this talk, a little voice suddenly said inside my left ear, "You'd better dig out that Andersen story, you know, about the shadow."

At age 10 I certainly wouldn't have gone on about reason and repression and all that. I had no critical equipment, no detachment, and even less power of sustained thought than I have now. I had somewhat less conscious mind than I have now. But I had as much, or more, of an unconscious mind, and was perhaps in better touch with it than I am now. And it was to that, to the unknown depths in me, that the story spoke; and it was the depths which responded to it and, nonverbally, irrationally, understood it, and learned from it.

The great fantasies, myths, and tales are indeed like dreams: they speak *from* the unconscious *to* the unconscious, in the *language* of the unconscious—symbol and archetype. Though they use words, they work the way music does: they short-circuit verbal reasoning, and go straight to the thoughts that lie too deep to utter. They cannot be translated fully into the language of reason, but only a Logical Positivist, who also finds Beethoven's Ninth Symphony meaningless, would claim that they are therefore meaningless. They are profoundly meaningful, and usable—practical—in terms of ethics; of insight; of growth.

Reduced to the language of daylight, Andersen's story says that a man who will not confront and accept his shadow is a lost soul. It also says

something specifically about itself, about art. It says that if you want to enter the House of Poetry, you have to enter it in the flesh, the solid, imperfect, unwieldy body, which has corns and colds and greeds and passions, the body that casts a shadow. It says that if the artist tries to ignore evil, he will never enter into the House of Light.

That's what one great artist said to me about shadows. Now if I may move our candle and throw the shadows in a different direction, I'd like to interrogate a great psychologist on the same subject. Art has spoken, let's hear what science has to say. Since art is the subject, let it be the psychologist whose ideas on art are the most meaningful to most artists, Carl Gustav Jung.

Jung's terminology is notoriously difficult, as he kept changing meanings the way a growing tree changes leaves. I will try to define a few of the key terms in an amateurish way without totally misrepresenting them. Very roughly, then, Jung saw the ego, what we usually call the self, as only a part of the Self, the part of it which we are consciously aware of. The ego "revolves around the Self as the earth around the Sun," he says. The Self is transcendent, much larger than the ego; it is not a private possession, but collective—that is, we share it with all other human beings, and perhaps with all beings. It may indeed be our link with what is called God. Now this sounds mystical, and it is, but it's also exact and practical. All Jung is saying is that we are fundamentally alike; we all have the same general tendencies and configurations in our psyche, just as we all have the same general kind of lungs and bones in our body. Human beings all look roughly alike; they also think and feel alike. And they are all part of the universe.

The ego, the little private individual consciousness, knows this, and it knows that if it's not to be trapped in the hopeless silence of autism it must identify with something outside itself, beyond itself, larger than itself. If it's weak, or if it's offered nothing better, what it does is identify with the "collective consciousness." That is Jung's term for a kind of lowest common denominator of all the little egos added together, the mass mind, which consists of such things as cults, creeds, fads, fashions, status-seeking, conventions, received beliefs, advertising, popcult, all the isms, all the ideologies, all the hollow forms of commu-



From The Farthest Shore. Text copyright © 1972 by Ursula Le Guin. Illustrated by Gail Garraty. Used by permission of Atheneum Publishers.

nication and "togetherness" that lack real communion or real sharing. The ego, accepting these empty forms, becomes a member of the "lonely crowd." To avoid this, to attain real community, it must turn inward, away from the crowd, to the source: it must identify with *its own* deeper regions, the great unexplored regions of the Self. These regions of the psyche Jung calls the "collective unconscious," and it is in them, where we all meet, that he sees the source of true community; of felt religion; of art, grace, spontaneity, and love.

How do you get there? How do you find your own private entrance to the collective unconscious? Well, the first step is often the most important, and Jung says that the first step is to turn around and follow your own shadow.

Jung saw the psyche as populated with a group of fascinating figures, much livelier than Freud's grim trio of Id, Ego, Superego; they're all worth meeting. The one we're concerned with is the shadow.

The shadow is the other side of our psyche, the dark brother of the conscious mind. It is Cain, Caliban, Frankenstein's monster, Mr. Hyde. It is Vergil who guided Dante through hell, Gilgamesh's friend Enkidu, Frodo's enemy Gollum. It is the Doppelgänger. It is Mowgli's Grey Brother; the werewolf; the wolf, the bear, the tiger of a thousand folktales; it is the serpent, Lucifer. The shadow stands on the threshold between the conscious and the unconscious mind, and we meet it in our dreams, as sister, brother, friend, beast, monster, enemy, guide. It is all we don't want to, can't, admit into our conscious self, all the qualities and tendencies within us which have been repressed, denied, or not used. In describing Jung's psychology, Jolande Jacobi wrote that "the development of the shadow runs parallel to that of the ego; qualities which the ego does not need or cannot make use of are set aside or repressed, and thus they play little or no part in the conscious life of the individual. Accordingly, a child has no real shadow, but his shadow becomes more pronounced as his ego grows in stability and range."¹ Jung himself said, "Everyone carries a shadow, and the less it is embodied in the indi-

vidual's conscious life, the blacker and denser it is."² The less you look at it, in other words, the stronger it grows, until it can become a menace, an intolerable load, a threat within the soul.

Unadmitted to consciousness, the shadow is projected outward, onto others. There's nothing wrong with me—it's *them*. I'm not a monster, other people are monsters. All foreigners are evil. All communists are evil. All capitalists are evil. It was the cat that made me kick him, Mummy.

If the individual wants to live in the real world, he must withdraw his projections; he must admit that the hateful, the evil, exists within himself. This isn't easy. It is very hard not to be able to blame anybody else. But it may be worth it. Jung says, "If he only learns to deal with his own shadow he has done something real for the world. He has succeeded in shouldering at least an infinitesimal part of the gigantic, unsolved social problems of our day."³

Moreover, he has grown toward true community, and self-knowledge, and creativity. For the shadow stands on the threshold. We can let it bar the way to the creative depths of the unconscious, or we can let it lead us to them. For the shadow is not simply evil. It is inferior, primitive, awkward, animallike, childlike; powerful, vital, spontaneous. It's not weak and decent, like the learned young man from the north; it's dark and hairy and unseemly; but, without it, the person is nothing. What is a body that casts no shadow? Nothing, a formlessness, two-dimensional, a comic-strip character. The person who denies his own profound relationship with evil denies his own reality. He cannot do, or make; he can only undo, unmake.

Jung was especially interested in the second half of life, when this conscious confrontation with a shadow that's been growing for 30 or 40 years can become imperative—as it did for the poor fellow in the Andersen story. As Jung says, the child's ego and shadow are both still ill defined; a child is likely to find his ego in a ladybug, and his shadow lurking horribly under his bed. But I think that when in pre-adolescence and adolescence the conscious sense of self emerges, often quite overwhelmingly, the shadow darkens right with it. The normal adolescent ceases to project so blithely as the little child did; he realizes that you can't blame everything on the bad guys with the black Stetsons. He begins to

take responsibility for his acts and feelings. And with it he often shoulders a terrible load of guilt. He sees his shadow as much blacker, more wholly evil, than it is. The only way for a youngster to get past the paralyzing self-blame and self-disgust of this stage is really to look at that shadow, to face it, warts and fangs and pimples and claws and all—to accept it as himself—as *part* of himself. The ugliest part, but not the weakest. For the shadow is the guide. The guide inward and out again; downward and up again; there, as Bilbo the Hobbit said, and back again. The guide of the journey to self-knowledge, to adulthood, to the light.

"Lucifer" means the one who carries the light.

It seems to me that Jung described, as the individual's imperative need and duty, that journey which Andersen's learned young man failed to make.

It also seems to me that most of the great works of fantasy are about that journey; and that fantasy is the medium best suited to a description of that journey, its perils and rewards. The events of a voyage into the unconscious are not describable in the language of rational daily life: only the symbolic language of the deeper psyche will fit them without trivializing them.

Moreover, the journey seems to be not only a psychic one, but a moral one. Most great fantasies contain a very strong, striking moral dialectic, often expressed as a struggle between the Darkness and the Light. But that makes it sound simple, and the ethics of the unconscious—of the dream, the fantasy, the fairytale—are not simple at all. They are, indeed, very strange.

Take the ethics of the fairytale, where the shadow figure is often played by an animal—horse, wolf, bear, snake, raven, fish. In her article "The Problem of Evil in Fairytales," Marie Louise von Franz—a Jungian—points out the real strangeness of morality in folktales. There is no *right way* to act when you're the hero or heroine of a fairytale. There is no system of conduct, there are no standards of what a nice prince does and what a good little girl doesn't do. I mean, do good little girls usually push old ladies into baking ovens, and get rewarded for it? Not in what we call "real life," they don't. But in dreams and fairytales they do. And to judge Gretel by the standards of conscious, daylight virtue is a complete and ridiculous mistake.



From *The Farthest Shore*. Text copyright © 1972 by Ursula Le Guin. Illustrated by Gail Garraty. Used by permission of Atheneum Publishers.

In the fairytale, though there is no "right" and "wrong," there is a different standard, which is perhaps best called "appropriateness." Under no conditions can we say that it is morally right and ethically virtuous to push an old lady into a baking oven. But, under the conditions of fairytale, in the language of the archetypes, we can say with perfect conviction that it may be *appropriate* to do so. Because, in those terms, the witch is not an old lady, nor is Gretel a little girl. Both are psychic factors, elements of the complex soul.

Gretel is the archaic child-soul, innocent, defenseless; the witch is the archaic crone, the possessor and destroyer, the mother who feeds you cookies and who must be destroyed before she eats you like a cookie, so that you can grow up and be a mother too. And so on and so on. All explanations are partial. The archetype is inexhaustible. And children understand it as fully and surely as adults do—often more fully, because they haven't got minds stuffed full of the one-sided, shadowless half-truths and conventional moralities of the collective consciousness.

Evil, then, appears in the fairytale not as something diametrically opposed to good, but as inextricably involved with it, as in the yang-yin symbol. Neither is greater than the other, nor can human reason and virtue separate one from the other and choose between them. The hero or heroine is the one who sees what is appropriate to be done, because he or she sees the *whole*, which is greater than either evil or good. Their heroism is, in fact, their certainty. They do not act by rules; they simply know the way to go.

In this labyrinth where it seems one must trust to blind instinct, there is, Von Franz points out, one—only one—consistent rule or “ethic”: “Anyone who earns the gratitude of animals, or whom they help for any reason, invariably wins out. This is the only unfailing rule that I have been able to find.”

Our instinct, in other words, is not blind. The animal does not reason, but it sees. And it acts with certainty; it acts “rightly,” appropriately. That is why all animals are beautiful. It is the animal who knows the way, the way home. It is the animal within us, the primitive, the dark brother, the shadow soul, who is the guide.

There is often a queer twist to this in folktales, a kind of final secret. The helpful animal, often a horse or a wolf, says to the hero, “When you have done such-and-so with my help, then you must kill me, cut off my head.” And the hero must trust his animal guide so wholly that he is willing to do so. Apparently the meaning of this is that when you have followed the animal instincts far enough, then they must be sacrificed, so that the true self, the whole person, may step forth from the body of the animal, reborn. That is Von Franz's explanation, and it sounds fair enough; I am glad to have any explanation of that strange episode in so many tales, which has

always shocked me. But I doubt that that's all there is to it—or that any Jungian would pretend it was. Neither rational thought nor rational ethics can “explain” these deep strange levels of the imagining mind. Even in merely reading a fairytale, we must let go our daylight convictions and trust ourselves to be guided by dark figures, in silence; and when we come back, it may be very hard to describe where we have been.

In many fantasy tales of the 19th and 20th centuries the tension between good and evil, light and dark, is drawn absolutely clearly, as a battle, the good guys on one side and the bad guys on the other, cops and robbers, Christians and heathens, heroes and villains. In such fantasies I believe the author has tried to force reason to lead him where reason cannot go, and has abandoned the faithful and frightening guide he should have followed, the shadow. These are false fantasies, rationalized fantasies. They are not the real thing. Let me, by way of exhibiting the real thing, which is always much more interesting than the fake one, discuss *The Lord of the Rings* for a minute.

Critics have been hard on Tolkien for his “simplisticness,” his division of the inhabitants of Middle Earth into the good people and the evil people. And indeed he does this, and his good people tend to be entirely good, though with endearing frailties, while his Orcs and other villains are altogether nasty. But all this is a judgment by daylight ethics, by conventional standards of virtue and vice. When you look at the story as a psychic journey, you see something quite different, and very strange. You see then a group of bright figures, each one with its black shadow. Against the Elves, the Orcs. Against Aragorn, the Black Rider. Against Gandalf, Saruman. And above all, against Frodo, Gollum. Against him—and with him.

It is truly complex, because both the figures are already doubled. Sam is, in part, Frodo's shadow, his inferior part. Gollum is two people, too, in a more direct, schizophrenic sense; he's always talking to himself, Slinker talking to Stinker, Sam calls it. Sam understands Gollum very well, though he won't admit it and won't accept Gollum as Frodo does, letting Gollum be their guide, trusting him. Frodo and Gollum are not only both hobbits; they are the same person—and Frodo knows it. Frodo and Sam are the



bright side, Smeagol-Gollum the shadow side. In the end Sam and Smeagol, the lesser figures, drop away, and all that is left is Frodo and Gollum, at the end of the long quest. And it is Frodo the good who fails, who at the last moment claims the Ring of Power for himself; and it is Gollum the evil who achieves the quest, destroying the Ring, and himself with it. The Ring, the archetype of the Integrative Function, the creative-destructive, returns to the volcano, the eternal source of creation and destruction, the primal fire. When you look at it that way, can you call it a simple story? I suppose so. *Oedipus Rex* is a fairly simple story, too. But it is not simplistic. It is the kind of story that can be told only by one who has turned and faced his shadow and looked into the dark.

That it is told in the language of fantasy is not an accident, or because Tolkien was an escapist, or because he was writing for children. It is a fantasy because fantasy is the natural, the appropriate, language for the recounting of the spiritual journey and the struggle of good and evil in the soul.

That has been said before—by Tolkien himself, for one—but it needs repeating. It needs lots of repeating, because there is still, in this country, a deep puritanical distrust of fantasy, which comes out often among people truly and seriously concerned about the ethical education of children. Fantasy, to them, is escapism. They see no difference between the Batmen and Supermen of the commercial dope-factories and the timeless archetypes of the collective unconscious. They confuse fantasy, which in the psychological sense is a universal and essential faculty of the human mind, with infantilism and pathological regression. They seem to think that shadows are something that we can simply do away with, if we can only turn on enough electric lights. And so they see the irrationality and cruelty and strange amoralities of fairytale, and they say: "But this is very bad for children, we must teach children right from wrong, with realistic books, books that are true to life!"

I agree that children need to be—and usually want very much to be—taught right from wrong.

Finding a way out of the Labyrinth. From The Tombs of Atuan. Text copyright © 1971 by Ursula Le Guin. Illustrated by Gail Garraty. Used by permission of Atheneum Publishers.

But I believe that realistic fiction for children is one of the very hardest media in which to do it. It's hard not to get entangled in the superficialities of the collective consciousness, in simplistic moralism, in projections of various kinds, so that you end up with the baddies and the goodies all over again. Or you get that business about "there's a little bit of bad in the best of us and a little bit of good in the worst of us," a dangerous banalization of the fact, which is that there is incredible potential for good and for evil in every one of us. Or writers are encouraged to merely capitalize on sensationalism, upsetting the child reader without themselves being really involved in the violence of the story, which is shameful. Or you get the "problem books." The problem of drugs, of divorce, of race prejudice, of unmarried pregnancy, and so on—as if evil were a problem, something that can be solved, that has an answer, like a problem in fifth grade arithmetic. If you want the answer, you just look in the back of the book.

That is escapism, that posing evil as a "problem," instead of what it is: all the pain and suffering and waste and loss and injustice we will meet all our lives long, and must face and cope with over and over and over, and admit, and live with, in order to live human lives at all.

But what, then, is the naturalistic writer for children to do? Can he present the child with evil as an *insoluble* problem—something neither the child nor any adult can do anything about at all? To give the child a picture of the gas chambers of Dachau, or the famines of India, or the cruelties of a psychotic parent, and say, "Well, baby, this is how it is, what are you going to make of it?"—that is surely unethical. If you suggest that there is a "solution" to these monstrous facts, you are lying to the child. If you insist that there isn't, you are overwhelming him with a load he's not strong enough yet to carry.

The young creature does need protection and shelter. But it also needs the truth. And it seems to me that the way you can speak absolutely honestly and factually to a child about both good and evil is to talk about himself. Himself, his inner self, the deep, the deepest Self. That is something he can cope with; indeed, his job in growing up is to become himself. He can't do this if he feels the task is hopeless, nor can he if he's led to think there isn't any task. A child's growth

will be stunted and perverted if he is forced to despair or if he is encouraged in false hope, if he is terrified or if he is coddled. What he needs to grow up is reality, the wholeness which exceeds all our virtue and all our vice. He needs knowledge; he needs self-knowledge. He needs to see himself and the shadow he casts. That is something he can face, his own shadow; and he can learn to control it and to be guided by it. So that, when he grows up into his strength and responsibility as an adult in society, he will be less inclined, perhaps, either to give up in despair or to deny what he sees, when he must face the evil that is done in the world, and the injustices and grief and suffering that we all must bear, and the final shadow at the end of all.

Fantasy is the language of the inner self. I will claim no more for fantasy than to say that I personally find it the appropriate language in which to tell stories to children—and others. But I say that with some confidence, having behind me the authority of a very great poet, who put it much more boldly. "The great instrument of moral good," Shelley said, "is the imagination."

NOTES

¹ Jolande Jacobi, *The Psychology of C. G. Jung* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 107.

² Carl Gustav Jung, *Psychology and Religion: West and East*, Bollingen Series XX, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, vol. 11 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958), p. 76.

³ Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, p. 83.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Continued from page 81

that has so many people there is need of an administrative officer who shall have superior executive ability and efficiency. I do not believe that your chief administrative officer, attending properly to the business problems of the library, need be a profound bibliographer or need to know the most of all the persons in the library, as to what the library contains. I should regard him as bearing a relation to the library something similar to that corresponding to, or borne by, the president of a university to the several departments of that university.

I take it that President Eliot would say that he does not know as much about Greek as the chief of that department, or of Latin, as the chief of that department, or about chemistry, as the chief of that department. I should doubt if President Low would say that he stood as a specialist with reference to any department of work undertaken by the University of Columbia. I presume that the modern college president considers that his chief function is to secure the best men for each department, and to administer on a large scale this business, and see that the business is conducted properly, and to secure great efficiency, and, more especially at the beginning, to consider and determine the scope of the work to be undertaken, to form plans on a large scale which might serve as recommendations to the committee—board of trustees—with reference to the larger service to be rendered. I don't say a knowledge of specialties, in addition to these capacities, would be inconsistent with them, but it seems to me that those capacities are undoubtedly necessary, and that the chief executive must have them preeminently.

A few days later, back in Copley Square, Putnam wrote to the Chairman of the Joint Committee, Senator George Peabody Wetmore, outlining some of his views on the Library and

supplementing his statement on the Librarian's qualifications. He wrote in part:

If I recall rightly, my description of the capacities requisite to the chief executive of the Library was ill balanced. I laid stress upon the requisite that he should be predominantly the man of affairs of the Library rather than the man of books. In doing so I probably slighted the other requisite, equally indispensable, that he should know enough of the literary side of the Library, of bibliography, etc., to appreciate intelligently the needs of the several departments of specialized work.

In this issue John Cole has presented an overview of the Library's history, emphasizing its dual role as the Library of Congress and the national library. As the series on the Librarians progresses, one will gain insight into the contributions made by each Librarian of Congress to the Library's increasing responsibilities.

With some chagrin the editor recalls writing in the last issue that "it takes the most courageous or the most foolish of prophets to attempt any forecasts for 1975." And with that we proceeded to outline some of the forthcoming issues of the *Quarterly Journal*. Now, wondering which of the two adjectives to apply to our prophecies, we point out that the article on John Beckley does indeed appear in this issue, opening the series on the Librarians of Congress. The article on Patrick Magruder, however, will appear in July, the succeeding biographies following chronologically in ensuing issues.

SLW

Some Recent Publications of the Library of Congress¹

Manuscripts on Microfilm, a Checklist of the Holdings in the Manuscript Division, compiled by Richard B. Bickel. 1975. 82 p. \$1.15. Essentially a name listing of 839 collections available on microfilm, it is arranged alphabetically, with foreign reproductions appearing primarily under the respective country.

Manuscript Sources in the Library of Congress for Research on the American Revolution. 1975. 371 p. \$8.70. A guide to documents, including reproductions, in the Library pertaining to the period between 1763 and 1789. It is divided into domestic collections and

foreign reproductions. For each collection a description of the materials and information about the principal figures are given.

Naval Historical Foundation Manuscript Collection, a Catalog. 1974. 136 p. \$5.05. Consisting of over 250 individual collections of personal papers related to the U.S. Navy, the Naval Historical Foundation collection is deposited in the Library of Congress. The manuscripts date from the end of the American Revolution through World War II. This catalog, arranged alphabetically by name, describes the scope of each collection.

¹ For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, unless otherwise noted. All orders must be prepaid. Checks for items ordered from the LC Information Office

should be made payable to the Library of Congress. Remittance to the Superintendent of Documents may be made by coupon, money order, express order, check, or charge against a deposit account.

Publications for the Bicentennial of the American Revolution¹

The American Revolution: A Selected Reading List. 1968. 38 p. 80 cents. Presents numerous approaches to the Revolution, ranging from eyewitness accounts by the men and women involved in the struggle for independence to recent scholarly evaluations.

The Boston Massacre, 1770, engraved by Paul Revere. Library of Congress Facsimile No. 4. \$2. A full-color facsimile of the famous engraving is presented in a red folder which forms a mat for the print. A description of the events leading to the massacre and to the production of the engraving appears on the folder. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Creating Independence, 1763-1789; Background Reading for Young People. 1972. 62 p. \$1.15. An annotated list of books on the Revolution, including general histories, biographies, and novels. Introduction by Richard B. Morris. Illustrations from contemporary sources.

English Defenders of American Freedoms, 1774-1778. 1972. 231 p. \$4.75. Six pamphlets attacking British policy after the North Ministry turned to coer-

cion, written by Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph; John Cartwright; Matthew Robinson-Morris, Baron Rokeby; Catherine Macaulay; and Willoughby Bertie, Earl of Abingdon.

Periodical Literature on the American Revolution: Historical Research and Changing Interpretations, 1895-1970. 1971. 93 p. \$1.30. A guide to essays and periodical literature on the Revolutionary era, listing more than 1,100 studies that have appeared in the last 75 years; includes subject and author indexes.

To Set a Country Free. 1975. 75 p. \$4.50. An account derived from an exhibition in the Library of Congress, commemorating the 200th anniversary of American independence and the 175th anniversary of the establishment of the Library. The essay on the events preceding and during the Revolution is richly illustrated with more than 100 reproductions, eight in full color, of manuscripts, maps, prints, and rare books, the great majority of which are in the Library's collections. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Twelve Flags of the American Revolution. 1974. 13 p. \$1.25. This catalog to accompany a Bicentennial exhibition depicts the flags in both black and white and color and gives notes on their origins and symbolism. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Two Rebuses from the American Revolution. Library of Congress Facsimiles No. 5-1 and 5-2. \$2.50. Two facsimiles, each approximately 10x14 inches and suitable for framing, of rebuses published by Matthew Darly, a London caricaturist, in 1778 as satiric comments on England's attempt to negotiate peace that year with the colonists. Translations of the rebuses and a note on the historical background are included on the folder. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

¹ Publications are for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, unless otherwise noted. All orders must be prepaid. Remittance to the Superintendent of Documents may be made by coupon, money order, express order, check, or charge against a deposit account. Increases in costs make it necessary for the Superintendent of Documents to increase the selling prices of many publications offered. As it is not feasible for the Superintendent of Documents to correct the prices manually in all publications stocked, the prices charged on your order may differ from the prices printed in the publications.

Checks for items ordered from the LC Information Office should be made payable to the Library of Congress.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SYMPOSIA
ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Symposia and publications made possible through a grant from the Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality. 1972. 158 p. \$3.50. Papers and commentaries presented at the first Library of Congress symposium on the American Revolution, held May 5 and 6, 1972. The participants are Richard B. Morris, Henry S. Commager, Caroline Robbins, J. H. Plumb, Richard Bushman, Edmund S. Morgan, Pauline Maier, Jack P. Greene, Mary Beth Norton, and Esmond Wright.

Fundamental Testaments of the American Revolution. 1973. 120 p. \$3.50. Papers presented on May 10 and 11, 1973, at the second of five symposia. Introduction by Julian P. Boyd. Papers by Bernard Bailyn, Cecelia M. Kenyon, Merrill Jensen, Richard B. Morris, and James Russell Wiggins.

Leadership in the American Revolution. 1974. 135 p. \$4.50. Papers delivered at the third Library of Congress Symposium on the American Revolution, May 9 and 10, 1974. Opening remarks by L. H. Butterfield and papers by Alfred H. Kelly, Marcus Cunliffe, Gordon S. Wood, Don Higginbotham, and Bruce Mazlish.



